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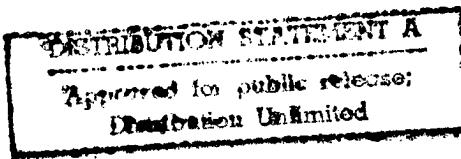
JPRS-NEA-88-024

7 April 1988



FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***



# **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-88-024

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**Effects of Gorbachev's Policies on Armenia**  
46050004 Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian  
17 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] FOREIGN REPORT, a magazine published in Britain, writes about Gorbachev's latest purge campaign. The magazine says that Gorbachev has begun naming to the KGB people he trusts. He has dismissed several senior KGB officials and transferred them to other

positions. The magazine also writes about Soviet Armenia which has reportedly become a target of criticism. Armenia has reportedly been accused of ideological weakness, corruption, self-enrichment and nepotism. According to the magazine, Gorbachev has decided to dismiss the First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party and the KGB head in Armenia.

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## ALGERIA

### Plans for Joint Islamic Bank Underway

*Beirut AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI in Arabic 7 Mar 88 p 33*

[Text] The pertinent Algerian authorities are studying the possibility of establishing a joint Islamic bank with the "Al-Barakah" financial group, which operates in accordance with the Islamic model. In Bahrain, approximately one month ago, this group announced the introduction of "Islamic bonds" into the world market.

The Algerian authorities hope that the Islamic bank will attract the capital of Algerian investors who do not have dealings with bank interest.

The idea of a joint Islamic bank was proposed a year ago during a visit by directors of the "Al-Barakah" group to Algeria, where a joint committee was formed to draw up plans for the project.

## EGYPT

### Minister Of War Production Discusses New Arms, Weapons Systems

*45400078a Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 10 Feb 88 p 18*

[Interview With Egyptian Minister of War Jamal al-Sayid in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] Cairo—This is the man who has been in charge of supplying the Egyptian armed forces with weapons and munitions throughout the past 8 years. When we speak of weapons, what comes immediately to mind are the 1948 weapon deals and the Irangate and French scandals of 1987. Between these two dates, the man worked in the area of weapons industry and in the world of weapons—a world with no ethics and no principles, a world in which money is a fundamental commodity and men are bought and sold. In this world, the ethics of Egypt and the Egyptians have surfaced. Despite all the stifling crises they have encountered, Egypt and the Egyptians have never traded their principles or their nation's destiny, and they have always been the cultural and military shield protecting the Arab and Islamic civilization since this civilization came into existence.

The man is Eng Jamal al-Sayid, the minister of state for war production and member of the Ministerial Production Committee and the Higher Energy Committee. He is a model of the Egyptian who belongs to this good country and who is affiliated with and loyal to his Arab and Islamic nation's causes. He is more than the honorable model of a man who works in the world's most profitable industry, who owns nothing but his salary and who never thinks of getting more. He holds the highest academic degrees, including a doctorate in the philosophy of electronics. Yet he speaks like an Egyptian farmer, governed by the values and principles that prevent him from boasting about the weapons he produces, even

though these weapons are, by the testimony of numerous international scientific institutions, comparable in capability and efficiency to the weapons produced by the world's arsenals.

Our first question was about the first Egyptian-produced radar that attracted the attention of all the military observers who visited the Cairo defense fair.

[Question] What are this radar's capabilities, and how much of it is Egyptian-made?

[Answer] We began with the production of weapons relying on conventional electronics and advanced to the point of producing nearly all the communication equipment used by the armed forces. Consequently, it was natural for us to turn to radar production because the radar industry is a complex industry. Our radar-production industry is the first of its kind in the Arab world. We started with joint cooperation with an American firm. Actual production comprises three phases. In the first phase, we manufactured 30 percent of the components, with the American partner manufacturing the remaining parts. In the second phase, 70 percent of the radar components have been manufactured locally. In the third phase, we will fully manufacture the radar locally, God willing. We are capable of accomplishing this. What distinguishes our radar is that it is protected against electronic jamming. It employs the irregular frequency movement, which is the latest and most advanced application of the microwave system. Our other electronic products include remote censors for use by ground forces. As for our Egyptian army as a whole, we produce all kinds of high, very high and superhigh frequency radio equipment.

[Question] Is there daily study and followup on the developments in the Gulf operations theater so as to put such developments to use in your factories and to enhance your weapons?

[Answer] All countries of the world, not just Egypt, study the developments in the Gulf operations theater. But our armed forces, represented by our military institutes and by the Ministry of Defense research centers, study developments in the Gulf because they occur on Arab soil. We study uses of weapons and examine how suitable such weapons are for the operations theater. In marshlands or swampy lands, mobile armored vehicles and close-range ammunition are needed. We receive the results of the studies and developments immediately and periodically, and we use these results to introduce the latest modifications to weapons and munitions.

[Question] Joint defense systems, such as the Sinai 23 and Ammon systems, have appeared in Egypt and the Arab world for the first time. What is the importance of these systems in modern warfare?

[Answer] Armament now relies on complete systems. A certain system either operates within a greater and more comprehensive multi-purpose system or operates independently for specific and limited purposes. The Egyptian Sinai 23 system consists of a tracked armored vehicle capable of operating in all terrains, fitted with dual antiaircraft and anti-armor guns and supplied with heat-seeking missiles that pursue individually aircraft flying at low and medium altitude. This system can operate independently or within a greater system designed for a specific objective. The Sinai 23 system can also march with armored forces and give them the proper protection against any attacking aircraft. There are other systems such as the Ammon system which we have begun to develop and modify along the lines of the Skyguard system produced in the country of origin. We can assert that all the Egyptian modifications or innovations introduced into the complete and joint systems have been licensed internationally by all the control agencies. The plain truth is that the Egyptian military engineer has taken Eastern and Western technology and developed it to make it compatible with the military defense creed of Egypt and the Arab countries. This is not a slogan, but rather a fact resulting from the Egyptian military engineer's dealing with all of the world's weapons, both Eastern and Western, from the wise political resolution calling for diversification of the sources of our weaponry, and from exhaustive research employing reverse engineering to develop the combat capability of weapons.

[Question] When will the M-1 tanks be produced in Egypt?

[Answer] President Mubarak has gotten us accustomed to avoid setting deadlines unless we are 100 percent certain. We have become used to dreams coming true. Producing an antiaircraft gun, considered a dream in 1980, became a reality in 1984. The Egyptian engineer and the team working to produce this tank is a team of most highly qualified and most ambitious elements. Thanks be to God, we have begun. The tank's night vision equipment, munitions, and spareparts are already produced in Egypt. But we must be certain that we are capable of quality production and to charge appropriately. We have been dealing with the American friend for sometime and this friend is sure that we can produce.

[Question] When will the dream of collaborating in the production of the same Arab weapons be realized?

[Answer] All of us as Arabs must get together and agree to select the suitable tank, gun, munitions, and aircraft and then modify and alter them to make them compatible with the nature of the Arab terrain and with the military creed of every Arab army. In addition to its tangible benefits, such a step has numerous invisible benefits because it will turn every Arab country into a strategic dimension for all the other Arab countries. We

will thus guarantee that the bulk of the weapons are produced locally and economically. At the same time, Arab solidarity will be achieved spontaneously.

[Question] How capable is the authority's high-quality civilian production of competing in an open market, such as the Kuwaiti market?

[Answer] We have become accustomed to precise schedules and precise products. Precision in the military industries protects lives. Our civilian products, currently estimated at 400 million pounds [annually], represent the top of the industry and are in high demand. We will invite Kuwait's AL-RA'Y AL-AMM to visit the National War Production Authority's plants to familiarize itself on the spot with these plants' products.

[Question] In light of the current Gulf War circumstances and the field marshal's [presumably meaning Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah, the Egyptian minister of defense] visit, what should we expect of the War Production Authority?

[Answer] In light of the field marshal's visit, I believe that I can define Kuwait's needs for the authority's products. We have great capabilities, considering that we comprise 16 companies plus the Arab Industrialization Authority. The armed forces' plants produce weapons, beginning with raw materials. We have—praise be to God—completed the assembling phase. Our production exceeds the needs of the Egyptian armed forces which are the main body for which we work. But I can make a determination only after I familiarize myself closely with the Kuwaiti brothers' needs and after I study the situation in the Gulf as a whole. I take this opportunity to greet his highness the amir of Kuwait, a man of Arab and national positions who has never abandoned his Arab nation's causes and who spared no effort to support Egypt during the October 1973 war. I tell his highness that Egypt's government and people are with you and they feel that their natural place is with their brothers. May God give all of us success and may He lead us to what is good for the Arabs and Egypt.

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#### Government Officials Discuss Palestinian Uprising

45040074 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
19 Feb 88 pp 27, 29

[Article by Usamah 'Ajjaj]

[Text] Nobody would disagree that the uprising in the occupied territories on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has imposed on all parties to the conflict the necessity for moving to bring about a solution to the Palestinian problem and has produced several initiatives, including the one of Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, as well as Washington's so-called operation to explore possibilities of a solution.

AL-HAWADITH discussed all the latest moves and the extent to which the Egyptian initiative may succeed with Dr Muhammad Hasan al-Zayyat, chairman of the Arab Affairs Committee of the People's Assembly; Ambassador Taha al-Farnawani, head of the Palestine bureau of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry; and a Palestinian leader living in Cairo who is close to the decisionmaking circle in the [PLO] Executive Committee.

The timing of Husni Mubarak's announcement of his initiative for peace in the region raised many questions, since the announcement was timed to coincide with the end of Mubarak's tour of the Gulf states, Iraq, and Jordan, and with the beginning of another tour to America, the countries of Western Europe, and Morocco. This led some people to indicate that an Egyptian-Arab understanding had been reached about the initiative, especially in light of a meeting between Mubarak and Yasir 'Arafat held in Baghdad.

Egyptian sources confirmed to AL-HAWADITH that Mubarak's initiative was an attempt to bridge the gap between the PLO and Egyptian views about reaping political advantage from the uprising. Egypt has held the view that discussion ought to center around the need to convene the international conference. The PLO has been striving to realize some kind of international protection for Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. This was clear during the talks between Mubarak and 'Arafat in Baghdad.

In Cairo, a Palestinian leader who refused to allow his name to be mentioned said to AL-HAWADITH, "My information is that the subject of the Egyptian initiative was not discussed with Yasir 'Arafat, or even with the countries that President Mubarak visited during his Arab tour. This is because 'Arafat has no right to accept or reject any initiatives without submitting them to the PLO Executive Committee, which did not meet before the meeting of Mubarak and Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] or even afterwards. 'Arafat is not a head of state; he is leader of a revolution and chairman of a liberation organization. He may not approve or reject any move without consultation. So that did not happen."

AL-HAWADITH has learned from informed sources in Cairo that several reports submitted to President Mubarak have forecast that the West Bank and Gaza Strip uprising will abate, thus threatening the loss of a golden opportunity to revitalize the Palestinian issue. This led the Egyptian president to propose the peace initiative even before his visit to Europe and America, in order to lay foundations for discussion of the Palestinian issue. Dr Muhammad Hasan al-Zayyat, chairman of the Arab Affairs Committee of the People's Assembly and a former foreign minister, said, "My understanding of President Mubarak's initiative is that it calls for withdrawal as quickly as possible from the territories that were occupied in 1967. After the withdrawal, there remains the problem of the conflict between the occupying state and all its neighbors, including the residents of

the territories from which it would withdraw. In other words, the occupation must end with Israeli withdrawal, and the Arab-Israeli conflict must end—afterwards—with agreement between all the parties of the conflict. The Egyptian initiative did not differ from or conflict with the resolutions of the United Nations. The Palestinians and Arabs have accepted these resolutions. They are therefore moving to use the West Bank and Gaza Strip uprising to awaken international public opinion and mobilize its strength, in order to end the Israeli occupation of the lands occupied since 1967, and to end the conflict [that has lasted] since 1947."

Dr al-Zayyat rejected criticisms directed at the initiative: for example, that it puts Israeli violence on the same level as the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to liberate their land. He said, "Who said that? No rational person can draw an equivalence between unarmed Palestinians using stones and the forces of the Israeli army, with their aggressive practices that everyone has condemned. The violence here is not the violence of stones; it is the violence of Israeli bullets and tear gas." Dr al-Zayyat cited statements by the Egyptian president replying to the idea that the initiative amounts to an Egyptian effort to end the uprising. He said, "There is no person in Egypt who can ask for an end to the uprising. Mubarak's statements confirm this, when he says, 'I expected this uprising and forecast that it would occur. I have previously warned that it would occur. I forecast that it will develop into something even more dangerous, since it is a fire that has broken out in the region which could encompass it entirely.'"

Dr al-Zayyat added: "Do you think there is anyone from the Arab side who would reject the idea of the international conference which the Egyptian initiative has called for?—even though, in my view, the Security Council constitutes an international conference, since the permanent member Great Powers are represented in it, along with other countries of nonpermanent membership that represent the conscience of the world. If we added to it the parties to the conflict, it could constitute an alternative to the international conference. But the real problem, in light of the numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions condemning Israel, remains the fact that these two bodies do not possess the strength to implement such resolutions. Despite the existence of an unambiguous text stating that 'territory may not be annexed to a state as a result of [that state's] aggression,' and despite the existence of a text in Article Seven providing for implementation of UN resolutions by force, [this text] has not been implemented to date, due to the existence of a dispute about it among the Great Powers that participated in formulating the charter. But one can manage without it by calling for the breaking of diplomatic relations with countries that refuse to implement resolutions, or by imposing economic and political sanctions on them."

The Palestinian leader replies: "We have not rejected the international conference. It has become a demand. However, in my view, it is a means, not an end—a means of

enforcing the Palestinian people's right to establish its state under PLO leadership and to self-determination. The problem that keeps us sleepless is the renewed discussion about Palestinian representation. If what is required is Jordanian-Palestinian coordination in order to end the problem of Palestinian representation, the logic of the matter says that if Jordan is interested in the issue because of its care for the West Bank, then Egypt has the same position because of its care for the Gaza Strip. If there is a demand for a joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee, why shouldn't there be a joint Palestinian-Egyptian committee? The international conference, if it is held, will discuss the Palestinian problem. Israel may choose anyone it believes represents its people. America may have an opinion in the matter, but the fact remains—and it is a fact that the days have confirmed through the struggles of the Palestinian people—that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of this people. We ask why there has been renewed raising of doubt about who represents the Palestinian people."

The question now being raised seems to be whether a clear American position regarding solving the Palestinian problem is possible, following the beginning of the so-called operation to explore conditions in the Middle East.

Ambassador Taha al-Farnawani, director of the Palestine bureau in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry says, "It has been my conviction for 2 years that the American position is in general negative and moves only in response to what the Israeli administration dictates to it. America, like Israel, rejects a Palestinian state. It also rejects any role for the PLO. It did not even accept the February 1985 Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, despite the fact that it clearly called for an international initiative such as that which the United States was pushing for. America's hesitation to convene the international conference is nothing but a carrying out of the will of Israel. Even if America agrees to the conference, there are American conditions that would cancel the effectiveness of this conference. These are: 1) No views should be imposed on the participating parties; and 2) No agreement reached between the parties should be rejected."

Ambassador al-Farnawani adds: "We are used to having the United States propose initiatives under certain circumstances. After the attack on Beirut, Reagan proposed his initiative. It aimed at exploiting the new conditions in the region and at realizing American interests. Nevertheless, Israel rejected the initiative the next day, and the American administration did not object, even though the initiative called only for the self-rule to be found in the Camp David agreements. It is impossible for us to imagine that there might be a just American initiative that the Arab and Palestinian people could accept, unless Washington recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and protection of Palestinian human rights in the occupied territories. In my view, the 'illusion of action' and factfinding have as their ultimate goal an attempt to draw off Palestinian anger and stop

the revolution—a revolution that no power, whatever it may be, can stop, as long as its slogan is 'martyrdom or victory.' The continuation of this struggle is the only thing pushing America to take steps toward a political settlement, a settlement in which America's goal is not Palestinian welfare, but the guaranteeing of Israel's security."

Dr al-Zayyat, however, is optimistic about the American stand and says, "One thing struck me in President Reagan's speech welcoming President Mubarak. It was when he said, 'We want to put hope in place of despair.' This means abandoning support of the Israeli force that imposes this despair every day on the region. It means putting pressure on it to comply with the provisions of the law, as embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations and all international organizations."

But the Palestinian leader asserts that "there is no hope for a just American position on the Palestinian issue. One need only see how [the United States] received the Egyptian president's initiative: the discussion was restricted to the first paragraph, the one dealing with halting the violence. It was the same position as Shamir's. As an American official said after the Reagan-Mubarak meeting, 'the goal is to stop the violence and the repression in the area for 6 months.' This was despite the fact that President Mubarak had insisted on a linkage between the cooling-off period and his other ideas, which included a freeze on Jewish settlements, international guarantees of the Palestinians' basic rights, and clear movement toward holding the international conference. It appears that the United States arrived at the idea of sending its emissaries, Murphy and Habib, to 'explore' conditions in the region in order to confuse the entire situation. The factfinding might take a month or two. In the meantime, the uprising would subside. I ask what can be gained from 'factfinding' despite the fact that Mubarak, one of the people concerned with the issue, was in a summit meeting with Reagan, and when there have been uninterrupted contacts with King Husayn. Can't one consider this an attempt to confuse the situation?"

Ambassador al-Farnawani adds a new angle that is cause for pessimism about the possible success of any action in the region, namely the Israeli angle. He says, "It is necessary for the action to possess conviction about a political settlement. In our view, Israel does not have such a conviction. At this point, Israel seizes upon every period of calm or negotiation to harden its position and demand more concessions from the Arab side. The events of history since 1947 prove this. Although the uprising has imposed new realities on the current situation, it has also witnessed agreement between the Likud and Labor parties to take a hard line. A sufficient indication of this is the fact that Defense Minister Rabin, a leader of the Labor Party, implemented the 'iron fist policy.' I think that during the coming period before Israeli Knesset elections next November, no Israeli government or large political party will be able to take a

position supporting a political settlement. The two parties are therefore again proposing the idea of self-rule and the Camp David agreements and proposing other ideas that will not realize any benefit for the Palestinian people in building their state. In particular, we are now passing through a period of liberating the Palestinian state that was taken by storm in 1919 after the end of Ottoman rule. In 1922, it was given as a mandate. Then came the partition resolution in 1947, establishing the state of Israel and taking away part of the territory of the state of Palestine for it. This resolution created certain definite borders for the Palestinian state and for Israel. This resolution was confirmed by another resolution passed in 1982 and insisting on working toward building this state. And there is the recent Security Council resolution that referred to the occupied Palestinian territory."

Ambassador al-Farnawani points to the difficulty of holding the international conference. He points to the Israeli and American rejection of such a conference and says, "We must bear in mind that Peres agreed to the international conference only 20 days before leaving office, and with a specific purpose: moving forward the issue of arbitration concerning Taba. Otherwise, where was he throughout the 24 months when he was prime minister? Also, he is complicating the process of the international conference with conditions, such as the need for an exchange of diplomatic representation with the countries that are permanent members of the Security Council, despite the fact that the December 1973 international conference was convened with Soviet participation and without any diplomatic representation between the two sides. So it seems that Peres and some of the Tel Aviv leaders are using the international conference as a pretext for procrastination and not to create a solution. Even in regard to Resolution 242, which some parties are trying to impose upon the PLO—despite the fact that the resolution may be in the interest of the Palestinian issue, since it demands that Israel withdraw from the territory it occupied in 1967, and, furthermore, the right of self-determination may lead to the possible existence of negotiation through the international conference to achieve comprehensive peace in the region—we find that the two basic parties in the Israeli game, Likud and Labor, reject the application of Resolution 242 to the West Bank, which they consider liberated, not occupied land. Labor calls for a withdrawal from areas crowded with Arab residents in the West Bank, but not from the entire West Bank and Gaza area."

Finally, it remains to be stressed that only the Palestinian people's revolution and its continuance guarantee the failure of all the schemes of Washington and Tel Aviv.

### **Islamic Leaders Discuss Solutions to Youth Extremism**

*Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic*  
1 Mar 88 p 3 and 6 Mar p 4

[Editorial Report] In the Arabic-language Cairo daily AL-AKHBAR on 1 March 1988, page 3, Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, Minister of Awqaf, talked about youthful extremism after several meetings between senior Islamic officials and Egyptian youth held to discuss Islamic issues.

Mahjub said that religiosity is moderation and extremism, and not an excess of either. He added that it is the ulama's duty to make young people understand that the religious person is not extreme. He explained that "the problem of extremism began as a socio-economic problem but we must admit that it is also an intellectual hunger of youth that anyone can take advantage of, guiding them as he wishes. Therefore, we must guide them in the correct moderate direction.

"We met with young people in mosques and clubs, and in their gatherings in youth centers. We held large meetings with more than 4,000-5,000 youths, who asked questions and debated the best of the ulama and the prominent figures in Islamic missionary activity. The goal was to give the young people the correct image of Islamic issues and enlightened Islamic thinking. These visits got good feedback and achieved their purpose, although not to the extent which I had wished. However, they are a first step and hopefully their support will grow."

He added that a final meeting was being conducted with the students of the religious universities and that in his estimation these meetings were of the utmost importance to youth embracing a certain viewpoint. Mahjub said that, "Through our endeavors today and the dialogue, much of what we were saying was conceded and they had viewpoints which we conceded to them in some cases. Some subjects were considered matters of opinion, for example, some aspects in the media such as usury and wine. It is thought that the state should settle them once and for all in hours. We explained to them that these things were, of course, against Islamic law, but that the nation was proceeding with them calmly and gradually, and that there is no perfect society; every human society has good and bad, light and dark."

Mahjub explained that the youth were of the opinion that these meetings should be expanded to include their intellectual and religious leadership, and that this request was granted. The leaders were invited to hold a joint meeting with the Ministry's ulama to discuss all the issues facing young people.

He added that young people had been left for a long time without sound guidance, at least in the area of religion, and that this administration would take care of them. The Ministry, he noted, had turned its attention particularly to the events following the arrest of several boys in al-Minya and Asyut.

In the AL-AKHBAR issue of 6 March, Dr 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shaykh, president of al-Azhar University, was reported to have requested the establishment of programs to save young people from being torn between the extreme right and the "heretical" left.

He spoke of his "experiment with the young people", and of the questions they had asked him by virtue of his position, and said that these questions demanded a call for complete unity and correct worship.

### Opposition Party Newspapers Discuss "Egypt's Revolution" Case

#### Arab Leaders Support Defendants in Case 45040085a Cairo SAWT AL-'ARAB in Arabic 28 Feb 88 pp 1, 10

[Text] The circle of reactions to the 'Egypt's Revolution' case which has been preoccupying the Arab and world public opinion has expanded. SAWT AL-'ARAB has learned that Arab contacts have been made with President Mubarak to express sympathy, solidarity, and concern over the demand for the execution of Khalid Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, and Yemeni President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih have contacted President Mubarak. UAE Ruler Shaykh Zayid also made contact, and sent his son Muhammad to meet President Mubarak. A telephone contact also took place between the president and Shaykh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, who asked the president to intervene in order to alleviate the negative impact of this case on the Arab arena, noting that Khalid is the son of every Arab president or amir.

The presidential office also received a cable from the presidents of the Jordanian trade unions, asking President Mubarak to exercise all his constitutional and legal powers to suspend and cancel the charge against Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir and his colleagues, out of concern for our Arab nation's existence and in harmony with its legitimate aspirations.

Meanwhile, Dr Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir has been inundated with cables of support and solidarity sent by the Arab parties and notables to his residence in Yugoslavia.

Dr Khalid received a cable of support and solidarity from Yemeni President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and a similar cable from Abu-Bakr al-Attas, the president of South Yemen. President Saddam Husayn sent him a cable expressing Iraq's solidarity with his efforts to confront the Zionist-American infiltration in our Arab area.

Nabih Birri, chairman of the Lebanese Amal Movement, sent a cable to the same effect.

SAWT AL-'ARAB has also learned that a number of Lebanese leaders, including Walid Junblatt, chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party; Ahmad Jibril, leader of the PFLP-GC; and Mustafa Sa'd, leader of the Popular Nasserist Organization, have gone to Belgrade to express their solidarity with Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir's struggle against Zionism and American intervention in the area.

Popular demonstrations have been staged in a number of Lebanese cities, especially in Sidon, to demand the release of the 'Egypt's Revolution' Organization members. Lebanese Prime Minister Salim al-Huss criticized the indictment of Arab citizens for killing Israelis, and expressed amazement at the demand for the execution of Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir, saying: "What did they expect of the son of leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir? What he has done is an honor for himself, for Egypt, and for all the Arabs."

The unity rally at the University of Beirut, organized by the Grouping of Popular Committees and Leagues, turned into a rally for solidarity with 'Egypt's Revolution.'

In Cairo, the Arab Lawyers Federation and the Bar Association received cables and telephone calls from the Arab bar associations asking to have their representatives join the defense counsel in the 'Egypt's Revolution' case.

SAWT AL-'ARAB has learned that coordination was established in this regard between Faruq Abu-Isa, the Arab Lawyers Federation secretary general, and Ahmad al-Khawajah, chairman of the Egyptian Bar Association.

The Yugoslav Government redoubled the guard provided Dr Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir as soon as the indictment in the 'Egypt's Revolution' case was declared, for fear that Khalid might be subjected to attempts on his life by the Israeli Mosad or the CIA before he could return to Egypt to appear before the court. The Belgrade security authorities had previously exposed several assassination attempts.

A high-level Yugoslav official contacted Dr Khalid to assure him in the Yugoslav Government's name that he would not be abandoned, regardless of pressures, and to tell him that there has been strong American pressure, to the point of threatening to withhold the aid requested by Belgrade.

Reliable sources confirmed that the Algerian ambassador in Belgrade expressed his government's readiness to grant Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir political asylum should Khalid request it. Official Libyan sources have also expressed the same readiness.

The defense counsel in the 'Egypt's Revolution' case warned the appropriate authorities of attempts by the Israeli Mosad and American intelligence to get to the organization members in their prisons. The warning was made in response to a request submitted by an Egyptian

agency on behalf of a American television network to interview the organization members and to demonstrate to world public opinion that these defendants do not reflect the Egyptian people's view of the peace with Israel.

In this regard, the defense counsel cited the circumstances involved in the assassination of martyr Sulayman Khatir, and instructed the defendants not to receive anybody they do not personally know and to make sure of the nature of any visit before it is made. In related developments, Egyptian reactions to the indictment continue to be expressed. The Nasserist Socialist Party's general secretariat issued a statement stressing that the acts attributed to the defendants are acts that honor them and constitute a sound confrontation against Israeli intelligence, who pursues the Arabs with murder and slaughter. The statement condemns the distortion campaigns launched by the government media against the organization members.

The Arab Committee for the Immortalization of 'Abd-al-Nasir issued a similar statement. A statement issued by the Union of the Nasserist Thought Clubs at the universities urges the student masses and the national forces to form a popular committee to defend 'Egypt's Revolution' and to continue the struggle against the Zionist and American presence in Cairo.

The universities of 'Ayn Shams, al-Mansurah and al-Zaqaziq organized conferences and photograph and magazine exhibitions in solidarity with 'Egypt's Revolution' and the Palestinian stone uprising. They also hung pictures of Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir on university walls.

The Egyptian opposition parties have agreed that each party will form a national committee to defend the 'Egypt's Revolution' Organization members and to establish coordination among these committees through a higher committee that includes hundreds of lawyers from all of Egypt's provinces. The Egyptian authorities have begun to prepare the hall of the special courts, located on the fairgrounds in Madinat al-Nasir, where the trial of 'Egypt's Revolution' will take place in 45 days at the earliest. This is the hall where Khalid al-Islambuli and his colleagues, charged with the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat, were tried.

#### **Parties Offer Help for Khalid's Defense**

45040085b Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Mar 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Labor Party dispatched Majdi Ahmad Husayn, the party's assistant secretary and People's Assembly member, to meet with Dr Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir in Belgrade to familiarize him with the party's position on the case and to reach an understanding with him on the next plan of action. In related developments, the Islamic Group issued a statement declaring its solidarity with 'Egypt's Revolution.'"

Majdi Ahmad Husayn returned to Cairo last Saturday night after a short visit he had made to Yugoslavia as instructed by Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the party and the Political Bureau. During the visit, Husayn met with Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir, and the two men discussed the political and legal circumstances engulfing the 'Egypt's Revolution' case and the major political and popular benefits that would emanate from Khalid's return to face trial.

At the meeting, Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir declared that he will not hesitate to make the decision to return at the right time so as to set matters aright.

Khalid 'Abd-al-Nasir lauded the objective stance of AL-SHA'B and all the opposition papers toward this national case. Husayn notified Khalid of the decision the party made last week to form a committee of lawyers and legists to defend him in the case.

The Islamic Group has issued a statement declaring its solidarity with 'Egypt's Revolution' and denouncing the prosecution's demand for the execution of 11 defendants in the case. The statement says that the Muslim Egyptian people do not and will not condone the execution of those who have confronted the Zionists, regardless of the group's position toward these people and their ideological bases. The statement adds that the public opinion has not and will not forget the massacres perpetrated by the Jews in Muslim Palestine, and even in Egypt, over a period of more than half a century, such as the massacres of Bahr al-Baqar and Abu-Za'bal, in addition to the massacres they have perpetrated in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Tunisia. God is true when He says in his venerable book: "Strongest among men in enmity to the Believers wilt thou find the Jews and pagans." [Surah 5:82] The statement was issued under the heading: "Struggle Against the Jews and Americans Is an Individual and Religious Duty."

In related developments, Ibrahim Shukri, the party chairman, announced the formation of a national committee, including the most prominent law professors and lawyers from the various opposition parties and from all the national forces, to defend the 'Egypt Revolution' heroes, in coordination with the Egyptian Bar Association and the Arab Lawyers Federation. The declaration was made at the rally held last Friday evening at the Bar Association premises on the anniversary of the raising of the Zionist flag over the Israeli Embassy in Cairo and of the start of normalization between Egypt and the Zionist entity.

The Socialist Labor Party has completed forming the defense counsel which will represent the party in the national committee; the counsel includes Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, the party secretary general; Ahmad Mujahid, the party deputy chairman; Shawqi Khalid, the assistant secretary general; Salah al-Qafas; and Mahmud 'Azzam.

## IRAQ

### Islamic Figures Urge President To Free Jerusalem, End War

*Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 16 Feb 88 p 1*

[Text] A telegram was sent to the president leader Saddam Husayn by the Islamic figures who attended yesterday's ceremony to sign the document establishing sisterhood between the city of Baghdad and the city of Jerusalem. In the telegram, those figures extolled Iraq's righteous call to end the war imposed on it and to bring about peace. The telegram is quoted below.

"In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

"And hold fast, all together, by the rope which God (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves [Qur'an 3: 103]. Almighty God speaketh the truth.

"To the freedom fighter Saddam Husayn, President of the Iraqi Republic, may God protect him:

"It is a privilege to extend to Your Excellency our deepest thanks, highest praise, and most profound gratitude, as a group assembled in the Baghdad of Arabism and Islam to sign the document which establishes sisterhood between Honorable Jerusalem—the first of the two kiblahs, the second Holy Place—and between Baghdad, al-Rashid's capital, the city of glorious history and civilization. We do so in the spirit of Arab and Islamic brotherhood, and in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people as they desperately strive to achieve their goals of freedom, independence, and liberating the land of isra' and mi'raj [Muhammad's midnight journey from Jerusalem to the seven heavens on the 27th of Rajab] from the abomination of Zionist aggressors.

"We feel impelled to praise and extol this blessed initiative which demonstrates loyalty to and support of Jerusalem on the part of its sisters the Arab and Islamic capitals, especially under the present circumstances which witness an escalation of the Palestinian people's resistance against the hateful Zionist occupation. We await the glorious day when you and your brothers will lead the victorious Arab and Islamic armies to liberate Jerusalem and the sacred Dome of the Rock from the Zionist abomination. We remember the feats and heroic deeds of the great men and leaders who liberated Jerusalem and Palestine from enemies in past times, the most prominent of these being the heroic leader Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi whose huge valorous armies issued forth from Iraq hundreds of years ago.

"Mr. President, we fervently salute you as a leader and freedom fighter, at a time when you are engaged in the task of defending the Iraq of Arabism and Islam by fighting a war imposed on you eight years ago. You continue to make your righteous calls for peace and an

end to the conflict with Iran through peaceful means in the interest of sparing Muslim blood in this beloved portion of our extensive Muslim World, and in the interest of concentrating all efforts and energies on the task of liberating Jerusalem. We extol your marvellous humane gesture, and beseech Almighty God to grant you as well as the Arab and Islamic nation peace, honor, and love, sparing that nation all evil, bestowing upon you health and well-being, crowning your efforts with prosperity and blessings, in the interest of our beloved Iraq and in the interest of fulfilling the wishes of our Arab and Islamic nation. God is all-hearing, ready to answer.

"May peace, God's mercy, and His blessings be upon you."

## ISRAEL

### Images of Prominent Leaders Said Fabricated by Speech Writers

*44230009 Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew*

*Jan 88 pp 62-64, 66*

[Article by Ben-Tzion Tzitrin: "The Hero's Speech"]

[Text] (Comment by Arnon Avniy) When you hear a politician speak with enthusiasm, you ask yourself three questions: (1) What is he babbling about? (2) Who cares? (3) Does he believe himself? According to Ben-Zion Tzitrin's research, the answer may be found with the one who wrote the speech.

Member of Knesset (MK) Charlie Biton stood at Knesset podium and delivered a well-edited and well-organized speech. MK of Herut, Miriam Ta'asa-Glazer, laughed: "Charlie, nice speech! Who wrote it for you?" Biton replied without hesitation, "Brezhnev."

Biton did not discover America—maybe Russia—but, in fact, most politicians, heads of local authorities, and other public figures are aided, either regularly or occasionally, by the services of a speech or article writer. An entire branch of parliamentary aides, ministerial advisors and spokespersons, mayors and heads of government, reporters and advertisers, and public relations representatives all take part in the struggle to shape the image and words of their personal hero.

Often, the game reaches the absurd. MK of Agudat Yisra'el Avraham Shapira, delivered a speech from the podium on pure economics, centered on the budget act. As always, he was assisted by his trusted confidant, Arye Frankel. When the Chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee concluded his speech, party members pointed out that he forgot to address the distress of yeshivas. And, lo and behold, in the speech that was sent to HAMODI'A, the party newspaper, a lengthy section was included, the swift handiwork of Frankel, on the wretched budget situation of yeshiva students. The secretary of SHAS, Tzvi Ya'akovson, who is careful to

observe what the opposition says, detected the improvements to the short speech that became a lengthy article, and raised a bitter protest; Shapira was saved by explicitly blaming an unfortunate stenographer. In the Knesset cafeteria, this was regarded with total understanding.

Uri Sela', the mighty advisor and advisor of the mighty, has performed this for years, as have all of his colleagues, extraordinarily and with complete discretion. Sela' was requested by Shlomo Lahat, Mayor of Tel Aviv, to write his speeches. Cheech was publicly thanked, and HA'IR, a local Tel Aviv paper, published a price list.

Sela': "That which was published, at one time, in HA'IR was not correct. I did not write that speech and, hence, received no payment for it." Sela' writes for many, and there is no doubt that Cheech improved his sales, which were not meager even before hand. Sela' will not reveal, as expected, either a list of prices or names. However, he reviles whomever does not accept this as standard practice. "In this vast world it goes without saying. The White House holds a position for the head of a speech writing team, but in Israel, for some reason, it is considered embellishment."

Sela', who even needs you?

Sela': "The question, itself, indicates a lack of understanding of the responsibilities of a political leader. He has, in my opinion, two and a half jobs; the half is to initiate as well as to make decisions and represent. So, it may be that he does not initiate, but regarding the other two roles there are no complaints. To represent means to symbolize and execute the job, and this is not merely ornamental—it is essential. Thus, the elected one puts the demands of his job into action. A public figure dedicates at least one-third of his time to representation. If one must dedicate such a great amount of time to this and to events on the order of 60 to 100 per month, or two to three per day, even the most intelligent, intellectual and multitalented individual could not conduct the research and create a new idea, story, or anecdote that would be appropriate for that specific time and place. It is, therefore, natural that a leader would have to retain personnel by his side to assist him in the subject and save him the required research and time.

MK Yosi Sarid, who has written speeches for Levi Eshkol, Pinhas Sapir, and even Shim'on Peres ("I don't recall if I wrote for Golda"), explains that the problem of leaders and the like is not simply lack of time but, often, inability. "There were those who acknowledged this and those who didn't, but my clients usually acknowledged it." According to him, in his biography he will reveal one Israeli figure for whom he wrote speeches, "and this will recreate a worldwide sensation." Sarid reveals that he used to write for his friends in the Knesset Labor Alignment. "That is the reason that, in spite of the fact that they did not appreciate my views, they had a personal liking for me because of the speeches that I wrote for them."

Sarid is also responsible for Peres' famous inaugural speech following his victory over Yitzhaq Rabin; however, according to him, he was not responsible for Peres' "Dear Yitzhaq" coinage.

Ben-Tzion Shira, a PR representative and advertiser, worked in the past with Dr Yosef Burg when the latter was Minister of the Interior and the Police. Shira does not confirm this, but he wrote Burg's famous speech following the "peach file" episode.

'Amos Rolink, who, today, is a publisher and poster manufacturer, and who was an advertiser from the end of the '60s to the early '70s, wrote speeches and articles for people with whom he worked. As one who, today, is outside of the field, he is willing to mention figures. For writing assignments as a ghostwriter, he demanded, and received, \$2,000 and up. "I stopped because I considered it 'ebasement of the pen'; now, after leaving the field, I wouldn't do it even for tens of thousands of dollars."

What is so terrible about this business?

Rolink: "For seven years, I would come up with a good idea and someone else would execute it or use it, until I became fed up with supplying others with my ideas."

Before he expanded to a more profitable business, he would come up with good ideas for 'Ezer Weizmann, former MK of MAPAM Eli'zer Ronen, and Chairman of the Board of "Dan," Yosi Horowitz. He refuses to speak of any others. Rumor has it that he worked for the Zionist Organization, and that he refused the request of the Minister Yiga'l Horowitz to write him a speech in sympathy with Ma'ale-Adumim. Rolink decided that even 'ebasement of the pen' has its red line (i.e., limits)—or, in this case, green line (play on words in Hebrew)—and, this time he didn't cross it. Incidentally, Sarid also claims to have written only speeches with which he agreed, since he never charged money for them, but did it only because he considered the speech, the speaker and the position important and he could subsist even if they did not agree with his terms.

Ronen, for example, would work with Rolink on up to ten amended versions. 'Ezer would not review or make corrections, but would go straight to the podium to speak. When he was Minister of Transportation at the time of the National Unity Government, he spoke at length on the issue of traffic accidents, and passionately defended a theory that he opposed, but had been included in the speech that Rolink prepared for him, requiring every driver to pass an annual written exam. 'Ezer was opposed to this, but he "bit the bullet." When Eli Eyal of MA'ARIV approached him and asked for an explanation of the far-reaching idea, the Minister sent him to Rolink. This also happened to PR representative and speaker Moshe Dayan. In the past, he wrote speeches for the head of a famous cosmetics firm. During one of the speeches, the speaker paused once and audibly asked, "What did Moshe Dayan write for me here?"

Dayan insisted on secrecy, but the director-general could not restrain himself and said, "Despite the fact that he has asked me not to mention his name, Dayan wrote this speech." Dayan worked with Yitzhaq Moda'i in the Revlon days, but his story, according to him, is not connected with the liberal minister. In the Dayan family, 'generation unto generation uttereth speech' [Psalms 19:3], and his son, Dan, a parliamentary aide to MK of 'Avodah, Na'va 'Arad, already prepares full speech outlines.

Uri Dan, whom one would have thought was close to Arik Sharon's paperwork, corrects this error. "Arik Sharon's thoughts are part of a broad view of the world and of analyses of situations that he explains in a clear manner. A leader such as Sharon is too deeply steeped in his own opinions and ideas for joint expression. Sharon is the type of leader who does not need the help of linguistic inventors of reality available on the market. They are 'hack writers'. Today they are in the Likud and tomorrow they'll be in the Labor Alignment."

It is quite possible that, in truth, Sharon does not require the services of 'Amiram Fleischer, TAMAS speaker and reporter on leave from MA'ARIV, to write his speeches in the Knesset on office matters, but it is certain that no one wrote Ben-Gurion's or Begin's speeches. Mikha'el Bar-Zohar, the official biographer of the "old man," recounts an isolated incident of a speech written for Ben-Gurion after the Kinneret operation, in the mid-50's. The "old man" turned to Aba Even and asked for assistance, but in the end he put the text in his pocket and spoke from the heart. Afterwards, he was accustomed to repeating similar text time and time again on various occasions. Bar-Zohar, who worked with Dayan, has determined that Dayan wrote by himself. At the most, he was assisted with data collected by his aides or was supported by the thoughts of Elyaqim Rubinstein. Even Moshe Sharet wrote for himself, as does Yitzhaq Navon, today.

Knesset old-timers recall that Zalman Eran would spend weeks working on every speech for a Knesset plenum. Eshkol was assisted by Aharon Kidan; Sapir's writer was Dan Halprin, his economic advisor, who wrote his budget speech; and Golda was aided by Yisra'el Galili and Simha Dinitz; Pinhas Lavon by Levi Yitzhaq Hayerushalmi; and Peres is currently assisted by personnel from his bureau, from Yosi Beilin through Uri Savir and Nimrod Novik (see previous issue of MONITIN). Shamir is aided by his associates, and his latest speeches on the subjects of religion and Judaism, which express totally conservative attitudes, are attributed to Yosi Bar-Aharon.

Eli Teicher refuses to confirm whether he writes Eliyahu Speiser's speeches and articles. Perhaps this is because the finished product did not greatly improve the position of the Chairman of the Knesset Economics Committee and Sorbonne graduate.

Among the classical historical speeches written by ghost writers, one of Yitzhaq Rabin's speeches holds a place of honor and was a milestone in his political career. The referenced speech is that which he delivered at Mount Scopus, upon receiving an honorary doctorate from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, after the 1967 victory. This speech was written for him by Morale Bar-On, his adjutant at the time. Bar-On wrote drafts for almost all of the chiefs of staff, from Leskov and Tzur to Rabin, with the exception of Dayan.

Bar-On: "Before the war, there were debates in the newspapers between university people and the IDF, between Prof Rottenstreich and Rabin, concerning whether service in the military is of value. Academicians argued that service is only a tool. We witnessed, at Rabin's invitation for receipt of the degree, the submission of academicians in the debate, and I prepared a draft that was later edited in the bureau of the chief of staff."

Didn't it pain you that it was never mentioned anywhere that these were your ideas?

Bar-On: "No. This was Rabin's speech, not mine. Had I delivered it, they wouldn't have listened."

The time of the zionist leaders who were, themselves, speakers and authors has passed, and the first to realize this was, as usual, YEDI'OTAHARONOT. The concept was that of Dov Yudkovski and the implementation, that of Eytan Haber, who would scurry among the politicians carrying a tape recorder, record their thoughts, interpret and prepare an organized article. Before going to press, it would be submitted to the politician for verification or necessary corrections. This system was so successful that a perusal of YEDI'OT issues from the '60s and '70s confirms that no one diverged from these beautifully structured articles written by someone else. Almost anyone appearing in political and military telephone books took part in this, and YEDI'OT took care to pay customary writers' wages. This excludes Begin and Even, who, themselves, wrote for MA'ARIV. With Dayan, who was constantly short of time, an additional improvement was invented: Haber or Shayqa Ben-Porat would come to him, not only with a tape recorder, but with ten prepared questions. They would get the answers and set them on paper. Incidentally, Dayan's fee was so high that when MA'ARIV appealed to him for one article by the "instant method," he asked for Yudkovski's permission.

In the next phase, Yudkovski took Rabin for a world tour of interviews under the heading, 'Prime Minister Interviews Heads of State.' This included Haber, of course, who joined as a partner in the interviews between Rabin and other world leaders. Haber works closely with Rabin even today, but does not write his speeches. Rabin speaks from memory. When he reads a speech, he has data assembled for him for a long speech. Haber together with Weizmann wrote the speech entitled, "The Battle

over Peace", and he refuses to discuss the matter of speech writing; however, it is rumored that he is one of the more important speech writers on the market. He made only one error: He used to approach generals being released from the Army on the day that they cast aside their uniforms. Such was the case with Yisha'yahu Gavish following the Six-Day War and Yehoshu'a Sagi after the Lebanon War. But, in the battle over Raful, he lost out to MA'ARIV. Dov Goldstein beat him by reaching Raful two weeks before his release.

'Amiqam Shapira, a former reporter and current public relations person, mainly political, today writes for clients whose names he refuses to divulge. In the past, he wrote speeches and newspaper articles for Simha Erlich, while serving as his communications consultant between the years 1979 and 1983. "I wrote him formal greetings when he was a guest in various places throughout the country, as well as political speeches and outlines for economics speeches in the Knesset. I wrote the first draft of his speech for the convention of the Liberal Party in 1980, and he changed very little. Erlich's problem was that he stuck too closely to the text and hardly ever looked at his audience." Incidentally, Shapira is cutting back on the economics side of his writing. "I write for those who work with me, usually, and that is part of the deal."

Shmu'el Bahagon, a Jerusalem communications consultant, says that he, too, is in the field: "My area of expertise is in writing specific speeches. The speaker must give the listeners the feeling that he is personally speaking to each and every one of them. Therefore, I take care that a speech has a personal touch, that it not be detached from reality, with little rhetoric. And, therefore, not one of my speeches is similar to another. Every speech is tailored to the speaker and is edited with his participation."

Sela': "One must know the man and know what is appropriate for him and what his mood is. It is desired that the speech be original, humorous, warm and pleasant. In political speeches, one must sit down with the person and clarify matters."

Tzvi Rener, former Liberal Party Member of Knesset, and the eternal, unremovable leader of the liberal workers' union, is aided in the writing of his speeches and articles by Dr Yisra'el Eliner, a party member, who succeeds in producing for Rener, who is a tongue-tied stammerer, a reasonable product that is immediately distributed among union members. Tzvi Eyal, Jewish Agency spokesperson, did not write for Aryeh Dolchin, because the latter had difficulty reading from text. EAyal refuses to discuss it, but Dolchin's written speeches are attributable to him, as well as to a number of members of the bureau of the outgoing chairman of the Jewish Agency.

Eytan Danzig, an old hand at juggling ideas, recounts that he wrote speeches for a number of politicians, mainly in the municipal field, as part of the network of relationships that developed among them. However, most of his work revolves around the advice that he gives, which influences, in his opinion, their speeches and articles. He recalls, in reference to this, Yisra'el Qeysar, on the one hand, and Moshe Qatzav on the other: "In a speech, I ask the politician to remember the matter of deliberate spontaneity, to avoid reading from the text and to memorize it."

In the Jewish Agency, the spokesperson was always involved with the secretary's text. Shmu'el Solar, the former spokesperson and reporter, refuses to comment on the matter, but it can be assumed that he had more than just a connection with the speeches and articles of Yeruham Meshel. Qeysar, who has direct and spontaneous speech, used him less, with the exception of cases demanding advance preparation.

At Koor, the name of the deceased advertiser Yohanan Goldberg-Kidon is remembered, who was known by the nickname "Dobvzhe," and was the man behind the text of Koor's past and present directors-general, Me'ir Amit and Yisha'yahu Gavish. Rahel Shilo, Koor spokesperson, explains that Gavish prepares an outline, which he forms into an entire speech during the event itself. Naftali Blumenthal worked in the same fashion, and is currently the Jewish Agency controller. In contrast, Benjamin Jibli preferred, perhaps because of his past, not to put things in writing.

Eli Horowitz, while president of the industrial federation, was aided by an entire entourage of brain power before a public appearance—perhaps because he lacked the spontaneity that so characterized Avraham ("Buma") Shavit, his predecessor. The incumbent, Dov Lautmann, usually speaks from memory, but when the speech is written, his spokesperson, Eli Lenyado, assists him.

Lenyado: "I have never had an instance where they just took one of my speeches and delivered it as is. Our difficulty is in the involved contents that the president must cover, which have many points for consideration."

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## JORDAN

### Union of Engineers Adopts Measures To Aid West Bank 44040126c Amman AL-DUSTUR 20 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The general board of the Union of Engineers held a meeting under the chairmanship of Eng Ibrahim Abu 'Ayyash, the head of the Union of Engineers, during which the annual report presented by the union council was discussed.

A statement is expected to be issued by the Jordanian Union of Engineers today expressing the general board's pride at the uprising of the people in the occupied territories in the face of the occupation authorities, in response to a decree by the general board which stood yesterday for a moment of silence in mourning for the martyrs of the uprising.

The general board approved aid in covering the health insurance expenses of engineers in the occupied territories and assignment of the union council to determine the amount of the contribution.

The board also delegated the union council to offer suitable support for housing projects in the occupied territories and determine the amount of support in accordance with the union's resources.

The annual report presented by the union board included a statement on the union's activities and accomplishments during the current period that has ended. The number of general board members registered with the union came to 19,299 male and female engineers.

The report pointed out that comparing the total number of engineers belonging to the union at the end of last year with the number estimated for the same year in the study of engineers in Jordan, which totalled, 19,598, it is clear that the actual figures so far slightly exceed overall expectations.

The report pointed out that the issue of unemployment occupied a central place in the council's total concerns and the activities of its committees, and an enlarged meeting was held for engineers who are out of work from which the formation of a followup committee for engineers out of work resulted. Two memoranda were prepared which were submitted to the official bodies, signed by more than 450 engineers out of work.

The general board called for the need to work to register engineer trainees in the ministries and official organizations in response to the council of minister's decree issued on this recently.

The report addressed itself to the activity of the civil, architectural, chemical, electric, mechanical and mining and metals engineering branches, the committee of the applied engineering branch, the professional performance, finance, culture, communications, engineering education, technology transfer, public health, library, engineer employment, magazine and sports committees, the committee of authoritative engineers and the social committee.

The general board discussed last year's annual report for the union branch on the West Bank, which stressed that the suffering of engineers is part of the suffering of the people on the occupied territories and part of what our

people are subjected to under occupation, since the branch committee has worked to serve the sector of engineers and help them fulfil their role by persevering in their nation.

The bank branch report pointed out that the branch committee was helping to absorb recently-graduated colleagues and colleagues out of work in the organizations, municipalities, village councils and engineering offices. It was contributing 50 dinars of the salary allocated to engineers in these organizations.

The report referred to the conditions of the arrested colleagues in the occupied territories and the measures the union council has adopted to help imprisoned persons in coordination with the branch committee.

#### **The Engineers' Examination Statute**

The general board discussed the draft statute of the applied engineers' examination whose provisions are being applied to all engineers registered in the applied engineering branch where at least 3 years have elapsed since their registration in the branch.

Yesterday's session, in the halls of the vocational union complex, witnessed contacts on the part of various parties competing in the coming session's elections, which will take place next Friday.

Union sources expect that the coming days will witness major withdrawals in the list of candidates to the post of union head, which will have an obvious effect on the final composition of the competition.

11887

#### **Engineers Confront Unemployment Problems**

44000053 Beirut AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI in Arabic  
7 Mar 88 pp 32-33

[Text] Engineers in Jordan are suffering from sharp unemployment due to their increasing numbers; this is taking place at a time when, to a great extent, Jordan is suffering from economic stagnation or semi-stagnation. The Jordanian engineers formed an 'employment committee' which recommended employing at least one engineer in every contractual agreement, however small. The establishing of a complete system for practicing the engineering profession limits the positions which should employ engineers. This also strengthens foreign companies in the area of applying labor law and Jordanian workers and necessitates increasing the number of local engineers where two engineers would take the place of one for every foreign engineer. Likewise, the committee recommended paring down the large projects into a package suitable for strengthening the local and engineering authorities for participation and sharing in executing the projects and acquiring technical expertise through them.

## Official Discusses Various Aspects of New Civil Service System

44040126a Amman *AL-DUSTUR*  
20 Feb 88 pp 1, 12, 13

[Article: "AL-DUSTUR Interviews the Chairman of the Civil Service Board, Ibrahim 'Izz-al-Din; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Mr Ibrahim 'Izz-al-Din, chairman of the Civil Service Board, has declared that the job classification system for 1988 will include from 8,000 to 10,000 newly created job opportunities in the government system to attract qualified persons seeking employment.

Mr 'Izz-al-Din, who was talking to AL-DUSTUR at the "Meet the Press" meeting, said that about 39,000 employment applications had been presented to the board by 31 December 1987.

Regarding the application of the new civil service system, Mr 'Izz-al-Din asserted that all people working in the government agencies would be subject to the provisions of the system within a maximum period of 5 years of its application.

In his comprehensive discussion, Mr 'Izz-al-Din dealt with the main characteristics of the new civil service system and said, "The most important thing distinguishing the new system is the relationship between the government and the government employee, and the emphasis on the notion of administrative development and the classification of positions by dividing them into four categories."

AL-DUSTUR invited Mr Ibrahim 'Izz-al-Din, chairman of the Civil Service Board, for a long discussion with AL-DUSTUR's family concerning the new civil service system, whose application began with the beginning of this year, the classification of positions, the part-time work system, means of limiting unemployment and employment policies.

Attending the meeting, alongside Mr 'Izz-al-Din, were Messrs Shafiq Khamis, director of employment and examinations in the board, and 'Ali al-Shaykh, director of employee affairs.

Before the conversation, Mr Ibrahim Sakajha, editor in chief, welcomed Mr 'Izz-al-Din and presented him a summary concerning the paper and the role the media is playing in the modern era.

'Izz-al-Din then expressed his thanks and appreciation to AL-DUSTUR newspaper, which has been and continues to be understanding of various issues in conveying the truth to the citizen.

The following conversation then took place between Mr 'Izz-al-Din and colleagues at AL-DUSTUR:

### Application of the System

AL-DUSTUR: How will the civil service system be applied to employees in public organizations?

'Izz-al-Din: First of all I would like to thank the newspaper AL-DUSTUR for providing this good opportunity to review one of the important activities of the government, since the civil service system, which is the subject of this meeting, is a matter that concerns all citizens and is directly connected to more than 100,000 citizens, the government employees. The civil service system is being applied now to 80,000 of them and the new system is calling for coverage of the other 20,000 by its provisions; these are the employees of public organizations and they are in reality the focus of our conversation, since the new civil service system gives all persons working in public organizations the opportunity to request coverage by the system in an optional manner within a period of a maximum of 5 years. I must point out here that coverage by the system in the first 3 years of this time period will enable employees to obtain major benefits and incentives, whether through the assessment of the grade they will obtain or in the acquisition of other benefits the laws and statutes in effect provide, including acquisition of pensions. This is an important matter which will introduce much stability and confidence into employment life.

However, if the employee wants to postpone his coverage by the system until 3 years have elapsed, beginning with the first of this year, that is feasible too, for a period of 2 additional years. However, the employee will not obtain the better grade benefit though he will continue to obtain other incentives, including the right to a pension.

As to the employees in the organizations who will choose to continue working under the aegis of the system of the organization to which they belong, they will also have this option until the 5 years have elapsed, since they will continue to receive salaries and obtain the benefits the law or system of their organization gives them; however, their job will be considered to have ended by stipulation after the 5-year period ends.

Therefore, it is possible to say that this long respite gives the employees an option which is in keeping with their situations and aspirations and will not in any case push them into adopting a hasty decision. Of course, the system will be applied to all new employees who will be appointed as of 1 January 1988, whether the appointment is to ministerial departments or to organizations.

### The Main Features

AL-DUSTUR: What new [changes] are in the new system? What are the main features which distinguish this system from the old system?

'Izz-al-Din: The first feature that distinguishes this system may be that it is a comprehensive national civil service system defining the relationship between the government and the public employee in all government agencies, including public organizations, as I mentioned above. This may be the first time in Jordan in which this matter has been dealt with in a manner seeking to achieve justice for all employees in government agencies, while attempting to preserve the effectiveness of the agency as well.

#### **Administrative Development**

The second basic feature in the system is the emphasis on the notion of administrative development. This concern has been expressed in legislation through the stipulation in the system on the creation of units for development, training and modernization in each government agency, so that these units will be responsible for taking all the measures which will in effect link the government agencies to new matters in the fields of administrative development, manpower development, improvement of performance, simplification of government measures and reduction of red tape. All this will take place through the comprehensive national effort the royal committee on administrative development will oversee.

The results of the activities of this committee are becoming clear. One of the first accomplishments has been the approval of the system which you are talking about, as well as the presentation of a general conception of the relationships among the ministries and departments which was reflected in the latest ministerial change, since new ministries were established, the Ministry of Water and Irrigation and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and the relationships among a number of government departments and organizations were reviewed in a comprehensive fashion. The committee is now looking into a number of financial statutes for the purpose of updating and revising them.

#### **Dividing Jobs into Classes**

As to the third feature in the system, it involves converting the expertise acquired and honed over long years of government experience in dealing with civil service issues into specific legislation. This would include starting the process of categorizing jobs by breaking them down into four categories, in addition to the positions in the highest category, which is category 1. This category includes high executive positions. Category 2 includes specialized positions in various professions, category 3 includes jobs bearing on administrative work and specific clerical activity and category 4 includes unclassified jobs, most of which are based on the performance of auxiliary services.

#### **The Annual Report**

The system has also introduced a positive feature into the relationship between the government and the employee. The annual report has become an public one

against which the employee can protest to a special committee if he so desires. The board is now developing various methods for this report and a greater degree of objectivity will result in its formulation, since they will answer the questions presented in them in a clear, abbreviated and accurate fashion and will be based on a record of performance reflecting the employee's activity or recording his shortcomings.

#### **New Provisions Facilitating Life for the Employee**

The system has also dealt with a number of various situations to which the employee might be subjected during his employment career, especially those situations which contribute to his advancement or call for coping with an emergency family situation, in a positive and practical manner.

The new system permits the granting of leave to the husband or wife if either of them is working outside the kingdom, has been on educational leave or loan or has been a delegate on fellowship or for a course, and if one of them is transferred to a job outside the kingdom, and also to the wife if the condition of the family or her circumstances call for her to devote herself full time to the care of her nursing child or small children and their health circumstances call for that or for care of her sick husband. These are all new provisions.

The system's provisions have also extended the period of maternal leave for a female employee; this has now become extended to 60 days.

#### **Part-Time Work**

These provisions have introduced the notion of part-time work for some jobs for the first time, since it has become permissible for one or two jobs to be split up, that is, for two persons to hold a single job. We are now investigating ways of carrying this matter out. It is expected that they will start with educational positions, and we hope that this approach will help combat unemployment on the one hand and organize family affairs on the other.

#### **Incentives for Productive Workers**

The new system has included the granting of many incentives to productive workers, among them giving additional raises for people who prove their capability through public annual reports or people who obtain higher educational credentials which will have the effect of improving performance. The system also ties continuous training to advancement in public positions.

The system guarantees the citizen's right to compete to obtain a public job as part of a balanced equation founded on the two factors of qualification and justice.

The system also guarantees the employee's right to advance and be promoted in the employment ranks within criteria founded on their worth in the first place. This is also something new.

The fourth main feature of the new system is the emphasis on the role of the office of the prime minister in administrative supervision as an idea which will bring about reassurance and justice for the citizen.

#### Reducing Red Tape

One can say that the system's fifth feature is preparation of the climate for shortening procedures and reducing red tape, calling for each department in cooperation with the civil service board to simplify work procedures in order to offer better services to citizens effectively and quickly. The system has also adopted the principle of delegating authority in a manner which is in keeping with levels of responsibility and it has allowed the adoption of decisions on the part of the lowest administrative unit able to do so. The system has also sought to reduce the burdens of the council of ministers in terms of measures connected to employees' affairs, since the council now deals with the issues of the highest category only. As to the other categories, promotion of employees from category 2 to category 1, and also the appointment of employees in categories 1, 2 and 3, have become part of the powers of the central committee for employee affairs and the competent minister, and there is no need to present them to the council of ministers. The promotion of employees from category 3 to 2 and between the two categories is now one of the areas of competence of a new committee for employees' affairs in each ministry and the competent minister.

#### The Civil Service Council

Finally, it is necessary to point out that the system has established a new authority in the government, the civil service council, which will be under the chairmanship of the deputy prime minister, with the membership of a number of ministers concerned as well as the head of the civil service board and a group of senior government officials and people working in the field of management.

The civil service council will be in charge of setting out general administrative development policy, reviewing means of organizing and developing public administration, approving training plans and programs bearing on employees, studying means for developing the organization schedule of management and setting out a modern classification for positions, as well as offering recommendations on policies related to wages, salaries and bonuses in a manner in keeping with the levels and responsibilities of the job. The council's tasks will also include participation in organizing and planning manpower, training it inside and outside the kingdom and working to develop the civil service system as well as other legislation bearing on employees.

#### The Civil Service Board

With respect to the employees' board, its name, by virtue of the system, is now "civil service board." The new designation has perhaps been a more accurate expression of the nature of the work of this central agency, which is concerned with general civil service issues, and whose work is not restricted to employees' issues only. Proceeding from this premise, the board will be the executive agency for development activities, and planning for these will be done by the royal administrative development committee and the civil service council.

#### The Process of Application

AL-DUSTUR: What is the nature of the shift from the old schedule to the new one? Have loopholes arisen from the process of application?

'Izz-al-Din: I believe that what is meant is the transfer of employees to the new categories in the system. As I said before, these are four categories in addition to the highest category.

The process of converting to the new categories is a simple, clear arithmetic one. Special forms have been prepared for this equation, and our fellow civil service board employees have met with people in charge of employees' issues in the ministries and departments for the purpose of cooperating in carrying out this task, which seems to be proceeding quickly and effectively. Here I must mention that the issue of categories is a new one and some issues will result from it that will require examination and careful review, especially after the jobs are classified and the limits of the leadership positions and technical positions are more obvious.

Here I would like to assure all brothers who have made observations on the process of converting to categories, especially to category 1, that we are carefully studying the ideas they have presented and they will be among the first to be dealt with when the job classification program begins this year.

Khamis commented on the transfer of employees from the current system to the new system, saying that "the new regulations have been circulated to all ministries and departments and printed in the department of public services. A seminar has been held for all employee relations managers and heads of departments in the ministries to explain the method for transferring each employee. There is a difference by category; an individual's rank will be determined by the current regulations. If a person is a university graduate, he will be in category 2 and if he is not a university graduate he will be in category 3. The regulations have gradually started reaching the board from various ministries.

### Academic Credentials

AL-DUSTUR: Will academic credentials the employee has received during his service be taken into consideration in the assessment of his new status?

Al-Shaykh: The system stipulates that the transfer of an employee from organizations to the system will be done by reviewing the credentials by virtue of which he was appointed to the organization.

As to the issue of reviewing the credentials the employee has received during his service in the organization as a factor in the assessment of his new status, that is something we are discussing now in the board for the purpose of facilitating matters and out of a deep understanding of this issue. The door will not be closed to anyone who has rights or individual ideas.

'Izz-al-Din: I believe that we have a flexible mechanism in the system which will allow us to deal with many things that have been created now. Here I can reassure everyone that situations that arise during the application of the system and require the adoption of a specific position will be considered very carefully, adhering to legal stipulations but not taking the other factors governing the administrative process into consideration.

### Private Organizations

AL-DUSTUR: There are organizations which are private in terms of their bylaws, but the nature of their work is related to government organizations. What is their status in the new system? An example of that is the cooperative organization.

'Izz-al-Din: The cooperative organization is a private one, and it is not covered by the civil service system. Cooperation is something whose independence must be preserved and citizens must be encouraged to support it voluntarily based on the conviction that the pilot projects that are being carried out are quite feasible.

### The Difference in Salaries

AL-DUSTUR: There is a difference in salaries from one ministry to another. What are the ways of achieving fairness as far as the people entitled to them are concerned?

'Izz-al-Din: Differences in salary actually arise primarily between employees in the departments and ministries on the one hand and people working in the general organizations on the other, since the incentives and benefits given to employees in a general organization exceed those the employees get in the other government agencies. The new system has in effect narrowed this gap among employees doing similar jobs.

After the termination of the 5 years granted to the people working in organizations with regard to the option of joining the civil service system, the situation will be the same for everyone. Here I would like to stress an important point, which is that the coverage of people working in organizations by the system in no way means infringement on the financial and administrative independence of public organizations, as organizations and important government facilities, since this matter is guaranteed by law and emphasized by the royal administrative development committee.

### Application of the System

AL-DUSTUR: When will the application of the civil service system for employees take place, and how will the conditions of people working in organizations be put on an equal footing with respect to social insurance and pensions?

'Izz-al-Din: The civil service system is effective as of 1 January 1988. For anyone newly appointed to the government, whether in the ministries and departments or in the organizations at present, the application, as I mentioned previously, will be optional for a period of a maximum of 5 years. In answer to the matter of social insurance and retirement with respect to employees who join the system from the organizations, one can say that those employees who choose to join will have the right to obtain pension within an equation which will entitle them to calculate their years of service in the organization in which they work as years subject to pension. The government will strive to create a mechanism facilitating the settlement of social affairs for employees, and this matter will be carefully investigated.

Al-Shaykh: The system has not addressed itself to savings or social insurance, but this matter will be remedied by the government in order to guarantee the employees' newly-created rights with respect to pensions and to facilitate the attainment of their rights regarding social insurance.

### Provisional Retirement

AL-DUSTUR: What about the matter of provisional retirement?

'Izz-al-Din: It is possible to say, figuratively, that provisional retirement is a type of early retirement the decision on which lies with the council of ministers by designation of the competent minister. In the past, spending 15 years in government service was adequate for transfer to retirement, but this period, which represents the minimum for transfer, has been raised by legal amendment, so that it now amounts to no less than 20 years.

On the other hand, one can also say that provisional retirement is a formula which the Council of Ministers can use if it wants to end an employee's relationship with

the government apparatus due to valid and nonpersonal reasons even though he has not completed the minimum for transfer to retirement, which is now 20 years, as I said above, provided that he has completed a period of 15 years in government service which is acceptable for retirement.

The employee who meets this condition and is transferred to provisional retirement will receive half his salary with half his raises until he fulfills the 20-year period. He will be transferred by stipulation to retirement. During the period of the employee's transfer to provisional retirement, he may be able to perform any job he wishes.

Consequently, this new arrangement contains some bridging between the 15- and 20-year periods.

Here I must state that the nature of the financial commitment arising from the adoption of this sort of decision, in addition to being presented to the Council of Ministers by the competent minister with an objective, convincing justification, must be among the factors which will reassure the employee and give him the accurate picture that this measure has been used only within the most narrow limits.

#### Protecting Decisions

AL-DUSTUR: What then about the protection of administrative decisions?

'Izz-al-Din: In the civil service system there is no provision stipulating the protection of administrative decisions. Rather, to the contrary, there is, in Jordanian legislation, a group of provisions, legal stipulations and general rules which will guarantee the employee the protection of his rights in terms of employment. If he feels that the administrative decision is in violation of his rights he can contest it before the Council of Ministers within 60 days of its issuance, and he can seek recourse in the higher court of justice in preservation of his rights as well.

Here it is necessary to say that it is not possible to take a decisive disciplinary measure against an employee, such as severance, until his case has been presented to the disciplinary council, which is characterized by independence and neutrality, or if a specialized court rules that severance of the employee was appropriate. As to the other disciplinary measures which are short of severance and which an employee can experience in the course of his employment career, these will take place within contexts which will guarantee him opportunities to defend himself by legal means before the competent body.

#### Unemployment

AL-DUSTUR: The board had issued a number of recommendations for solving unemployment. To what extent have these recommendations contributed to this?

'Izz-al-Din: One can consider the civil service board a party which is concerned with trying to solve the problem of unemployment, but the board is not the basic party in this issue. Rather, the Ministry of Labor in cooperation with the ministries of the economic sector is the one that is primarily concerned with unemployment.

#### The Committee for Dealing With Unemployment

A committee has been formed by his excellency the prime minister to investigate the best means for curbing the problem of unemployment, especially in the short term. This committee has adopted basic recommendations and some of them have been applied after receiving the approval of the Council of Ministers. A mini-committee also now exists to monitor the application of these recommendations.

The main committee made recommendations in three areas: 1) The creation of new job opportunities in Jordan. 2) The creation of work opportunities in some Arab countries. 3) The review of some areas of specialization for the employment of graduates in which demand is slight, where it will provide the student with information to become acquainted with the desired areas of specialization in coming years, in addition to a review of fields of specialization which are being studied in the social faculties in a specific manner so that the job market's needs for these fields will be taken into account.

With respect to the first area, the Ministry of Labor is adopting a group of measures to encourage Jordanian labor to take its place in the labor market through the activation and organization of employment offices or through the replacement of immigrant labor by Jordanian labor. To that end, the vocational training organization is also paving the way for young people to become trained in the various professions which will give them an opportunity to join the labor market.

#### Unemployment among Graduates

The ministerial committee has also tried to deal with areas of severe unemployment among graduates, especially with respect to doctors and engineers. It has decided to recommend the dissemination of health services, to which the Ministry of Health has been greatly responsive, by opening new health centers in various areas of the kingdom and also organizing the dissemination of medical services in social faculties, factories and locations of communities. All these measures have increased the number of doctors appointed this year and have also increased the number of auxiliary health personnel who have been appointed.

With respect to engineers, a decision has been taken to settle trainee engineers in locations where they are being trained, and the municipalities are now being encouraged to employ engineers to perform the services they carry out.

### Encouraging Work in Arab Countries

Concerning the second area, encouragement of work in some Arab countries, a committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Dr Mundhir al-Misri, director general of the vocational training organization, with the membership of a number of senior officials in the ministries and departments concerned, including our colleague Mr 'Ali al-Shaykh, to travel to the Yemen Arab Republic and discuss the scope of cooperation in the labor field. It will soon try to expand contacts with some other Arab countries such as the Sudan and Algeria for the same purpose. In encouraging this approach, the government has allocated the sum of 1.2 million dinars to subsidize Jordanian citizens who will work in these Arab countries in a manner which will encourage them to be receptive to this.

### Reviewing Academic Areas of Specialization

With respect to the third area, which is the review of areas of specialization, especially those the social faculties offer, as well as providing information to students to ensure areas of specialization desired in coming years, the Ministry of Higher Education is engaged in this now and is trying as much as possible to put these matters in order in spite of their difficulty and sensitivity.

In addition to that, the committee has adopted a group of recommendations with respect to management. Some of these recommendations have been reflected in the new civil service system, including the issue of part-time work.

It is clear that most of these remedies are aimed in the short term at curbing the problem of unemployment. As to radical, long-term changes, that is something the ministries and agencies responsible for the economic sector are assiduously studying, since they are encouraging the establishment of projects which will create new job opportunities. In addition, efforts to develop education will lie within this framework and will be directly connected to planning for the future.

### Job Opportunities

AL-DUSTUR: What has been the outcome of the efforts the board exerted last year to provide job opportunities for graduates?

'Izz-al-Din: Last year the board nominated 6,495 male and female citizens to work in the education system and nominated 3,631 male and female citizens to work in the other ministries, departments and organizations in the

government, bringing the total number of people nominated for appointment to 10,126. That does not mean that they all went to work. A number of people nominated for appointment have been refraining from working and there is an additional number which certain circumstances are preventing from going to work as well, such as their lack of desire to move away from their places of residence or their lack of contentment with the nature of the job they are being nominated for. These conditions call for the nomination of a number in excess of the desired number for employment in order to remedy such cases, especially in the Ministry of Education's system.

The number of employment applications which were submitted to the civil service board up to 31 December 1987 came to 38,722, proving that more than one quarter of the people presenting applications for jobs received them in the various agencies of the government.

### Humanitarian Cases

AL-DUSTUR: What about appointments made for humanitarian reasons?

'Izz-al-Din: Close to 500 applications for appointment to the Ministry of Education staff have been transferred due to difficult humanitarian and social circumstances and agreement has been made to appoint 151 of these cases.

In the other government agencies, 31 cases have been appointed on a humanitarian basis. All these cases have been studied in an organizational manner in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Development.

### Regulations in Effect

AL-DUSTUR: What humanitarian regulations have been adopted by the board?

'Izz-al-Din: A group of rules have been adopted in coordination with the Ministry of Social Development that are connected to a study of the social situation of humanitarian cases and the extent of the family's income, in terms of the number of people in it, the absence of a provider or difficult health circumstances.

These and similar cases are subject to preliminary study by a special department in the board, and a special committee composed of representatives of the Ministry of Education in particular and the Ministry of Social Development and the Civil Service Board then reviews all the cases submitted to it and adopts a decision in their regard, accepting or rejecting them. On the basis of this decision, the subject of the case is appointed or returned to assume his competitive position with respect to the appointment.

### New Elements

AL-DUSTUR: We have learned about the extent of the job opportunities provided in the government system last year; what about the new year? 'Izz-al-Din: It is difficult to determine this before issuance of the organization schedule of positions, but in general one can expect that the job opportunities this year will be close to those that were provided last year in number. In figures, these opportunities could be between 8,000 and 10,000 in the government system, most in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health.

### The Number of Females

AL-DUSTUR: It is said that the number of females in some departments exceeds the males. Is this to be considered a policy by the board?

'Izz-al-Din: Since society, with its various institutions, has agreed to the opening of doors of education to girls, it must agree to the opening of doors of work to them. It is not logical that a girl should study and that equal job opportunities should not be available to her, especially since we know the extent of the support women offer their families from practical experience in the board. Of course, most positions available to young women lie within the Ministry of Education. In spite of that, the ratio of females to males is in general close together in this ministry. With respect to the other ministries, the ratio of males in their positions is higher than that of females.

### Appointment of Married Women

AL-DUSTUR: It is said that a reluctance exists on the part of the board to appoint married women to the government system. What is the extent of the truth of this?

'Izz-al-Din: As far as we are concerned, we do not differentiate among people applying to work, whether they are males or females. However, specific requests might be received from some ministries that are objective in character to fill positions which require particular effort, and this will prompt the board to choose on the basis of these specifications.

### Supervision by the Board

AL-DUSTUR: What is the extent of the supervision of the appointment process by the civil service board in terms of definition of specifications and oversight?

'Izz-al-Din: The bases for appointment have been set out in agreement with the ministries, taking rank at graduation and evaluations regarding educational credentials into consideration, in addition to other factors such as military service, commitment and geographic area. These bases were declared at the time, and were applied

in a careful manner. The board will soon make a declaration on its experience in making appointments last year in accordance with these bases, which were aimed at the attainment of justice and provision of competence at the same time.

### Violation of Decrees

AL-DUSTUR: There are some ministries which violate the board's decrees, when employees are transferred to retirement then reappointed once again.

'Izz-al-Din: If the matter takes place in a legal fashion, the board has no justification for intervening. If it becomes apparent that there has been a violation of the provisions of the system, the board will normally follow up on the subject in order to approve the procedure. Our experience in this respect has been good, since most of the time the ministries respond to the board's view.

### The Criterion of Competence

AL-DUSTUR: How have you determined the criterion of competence?

'Izz-al-Din: At the present time our emphasis is based on taking the general average in the academic credentials the person applying for the job has obtained as a major criterion of competence. To that another criterion is added, the result of the meetings held to choose the best candidates. We are now developing a system for competitive examinations which we hope in the future will be one element of the criterion of competence in addition to these two. Here it is worthwhile for you to remember that the board is cooperating with the ministries to carry out some special examinations in the fields of languages and secretarial work.

### Administrative Development

AL-DUSTUR: The seminar on administrative development came up with resolutions and recommendations. Why hasn't the board carried out administrative oversight and the like?

'Izz-al-Din: The issue of administrative development is a thorny one and extreme effort and much time are required for its results to be apparent. Proceeding from this premise, this will not be resolved by a decree, a seminar or a meeting; rather, one can consider all these efforts attempts toward creating the desired administrative development, which is connected to all aspects of life, be they administrative, economic, social, political or cultural.

I cannot claim that we have an overall blueprint for the administrative development process. That is something which requires much expertise and patience.

However, there is a clear, urgent effort to open the main channels to this development process, and the royal administrative development committee is leading this effort. The committee has so far reviewed the organizations and legislation which address themselves to techniques of administrative development in Jordan. It has approved the actual state of the organization and the forms of relationships among public administration agencies which have not been applied in the latest ministerial change.

It has also put into practice the civil service system which was approved recently, which is the subject of our discussion at this meeting. The royal committee is now reviewing some legislation which will regulate the government's financial affairs.

#### Areas of Development in the Government

While the royal administrative development committee is continuing to carry out its lofty missions, the educational process and the issues of higher education are being subjected to comprehensive review. In the health sector, serious effort is being made aimed at restructuring which will improve performance and a draft is being developed for a comprehensive national information system. The issues of science and technology are receiving special attention. The civil service board and the institute of management are also making effort in the fields of training, organization and management consulting and the provision of government agencies with competent persons. All this is taking place in an organized framework and in a single time period.

#### General Government Oversight

The government at the same time has developed and expanded the authorities of two main government agencies whose activity is directly related to the administrative development processes; these are the accounting board and the civil service board. While the amendments introduced into the law on the accounting board have given further powers to this vital agency, the new civil service system has given the civil service board the opportunity to participate seriously in developing public employment and in modernizing management.

In addition to that, the plan to establish the higher court of justice provides an opportunity for the development of the notion of the administrative judiciary, which contributes to protection of the citizens' constitutional rights. Thus, an important link in the establishment and development of government agencies engaging in general oversight activities in the government from the judiciary, financial and administrative aspects is being completed.

The board, in cooperation with the institute of management, is currently planning a number of projects related to administrative development and preparing to carry

them out, foremost among them the system of competitive examinations and a project to evaluate performance, and it is hoped that all these projects will fall within the general course of administrative development and improvement.

#### The Lion's Share

AL-DUSTUR: It is said that the capital receives the lion's share of the vacancies available. What about the other governorates?

'Izz-al-Din: The board is trying to distribute the regulations concerning the filling of vacancies to all governorates in conformity with the policy of supporting the people of the governorates and regions and providing adequate opportunities for them to participate in developing their regions.

Here it is worth pointing out that appointment to the Ministry of Education system takes place in accordance with the distribution of ministry departments, which are spread out over all areas of the kingdom.

I cannot claim that the other ministries are putting emphasis on the same distribution and the same concern, but in spite of that we are trying, and the ministries are trying also, to cover the areas' vacancies through their people, and they will continue to support this approach and give everyone job opportunities in an equal manner.

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#### Various Municipality Heads Discuss Problems, Solutions

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[Article by Hani al-Duwayk]

[Text] As part of its policy aimed at increasing interaction among the mayors and at presenting problems and finding appropriate solutions to them, the Ministry of Municipal and Village Affairs and the Environment, in cooperation with al-Yarmuk University, held a session of mayors of centers of governorates and districts a few days ago.

This session was an opportunity for a meeting among mayors, since all the experiences related to services the municipalities offer the citizens were presented on the table of discussion.

The session stressed the municipality's role in serving society and the importance of the mayor's grasping new concepts and sufficient information from the legal, social and administrative standpoints concerning the region he serves and the relationship between the municipality as a local organization which has its statutes and laws bearing on official institutions on the one hand with the citizens on the other.

AL-DUSTUR followed this session and met with a number of mayors to learn about the most important problems they are suffering from in their municipalities and their evaluation of this role.

#### **The First of Its Kind**

Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq Tubayshat, the mayor of Irbid, pointed to the importance of the session, which is the first of its kind, bringing together the mayors in the centers of governorates and districts in addition to the rich, beneficial information the session contains, alongside the discussion of problems and common talk, in view of the service to municipal councils and consequently service to the nation it involves. It is also working to develop administrative skills among local leaders because of their contact with lecturers possessing broad information.

He said that great benefits would be derived from the meeting of the mayors at this level in various contexts, expressing his hope that a comprehensive conception of all the municipalities' problems in general and of municipal action in the present and future would arise from this session, especially now that Mr Yusuf Hamdan al-Jabr, the minister of municipality and village affairs and the environment, has promised to adopt all the recommendations arising from this session.

#### **The Problems of Irbid**

Concerning the most important problems the municipality of Irbid is suffering from, he said that these are primarily embodied in the problems of zoning, the paucity of financial resources, and street excavations.

With respect to the experiment with the joint councils and the possibility of expanding them, Dr Tubayshat expressed his belief that they were stripping away the legitimate right of elected municipal activities, pointing to the importance of coordination and cooperation among the municipalities. He requested a review in radical form of the issue of the joint councils.

#### **The Mayor of Al-Mafraq**

Mr 'Abdallah 'Ali Basbus, the mayor of al-Mafraq, said that the goals of the meeting included increasing the mayors' information from the administrative standpoint, because their ambition, as the minister had said, was benefit for the municipality from the administrative standpoint. Therefore it was necessary that they have the ability to adopt the right decisions and satisfy the citizen, pointing to the importance of the session, especially if suitable recommendations arise from it.

He added that the most important thing the municipality of al-Mafraq is suffering from is poor zoning and haphazard construction, in addition to some other problems which it is possible to solve if the appropriate administrative steps are taken.

The mayor of al-Mafraq praised the joint council, pointing to the presence of a joint council containing about 10 municipalities and eight councils adjacent to the city of al-Mafraq. This joint council had a number of good projects such as the industrial zone project, a truck stop, the slaughterhouse project and other vital projects.

#### **Al-Zarqa' Has Made Its Statement**

Mr Badri Baha'-al-Din, the mayor of al-Zarqa', spoke also, pointing to the minister's statement, which contained reference to many of the things and facts the municipal councils are suffering from bearing on matters of zoning and administration, which are part of the life of the municipality and play a prominent role in the solution of many of its problems.

He expressed his hope that this higher administrative session would achieve its goals and objectives, in spite of the short period of the session.

In another area, Mr Baha'-al-Din said that the greatest problem the municipality of al-Zarqa' was suffering from was the problem of zoning, especially since the city of al-Zarqa' was built without zoning and the zoning process was introduced into it only in 1976. Therefore, al-Zarqa' is suffering from the absence of garages for cars and trucks, narrow streets and a shortage of parks. However, things began to improve after 1976 as a result of zoning and the role the citizen was playing in this process as well through his cooperation with the competent bodies.

#### **A Cogent Idea**

The mayor of al-Zarqa' expressed his belief that the notion of the joint councils was a cogent, good one, because there were many small municipal and village councils which did not have resources and suffered from a paucity of revenues. In cooperation among themselves, it would be possible to reach the goal they desired to improve these councils' situation.

He said that expansion of joint councils would not eliminate the role, authority and legitimacy of the municipal councils.

#### **'Atallah al-Majali**

Mr 'Atallah al-Majali, the mayor of al-Qasr, said that there was no doubt that this session had great importance as general information which could lead to salvation for the municipalities if the important part of the information was applied, although the municipalities in general in the kingdom were more in need of financial support than speeches and studies, hoping that the session would produce important decisions which would raise the level of the municipalities' financial resources.

With respect to the most important problems the municipality of al-Qasr was suffering from, this was the financial problem, in terms both of its intrinsic resources and its share of government subsidies, which required that there be an increase in the share of these subsidies so that that would be in keeping with the levels of the city, as a city which was developing in rapid fashion, especially since al-Qasr was different from the other areas of the kingdom as in the past years it had become a center of attraction for all the areas surrounding it and their people in the other areas, and expatriates.

Mr al-Majali added that it was to be noted that this city had become very different in its development in the past 3 years, and therefore the material problem of the municipality was one of the most difficult ones it was suffering from, in order to be able to offer necessary services to the citizens at a proper level.

#### Councils and Services

Concerning the importance of the joint service councils, Mr al-Majali said that there was no doubt that these joint service councils existed and there were coffee houses under construction, but those that existed offered very minor services which did not fulfil the purpose required for all the municipalities taking part in them.

Therefore there was no need to expand them, owing to the lack of availability of possibilities for expansion and because these councils usually had very limited, minor revenues from what the government provided them and had no fixed incomes in the sense of the word.

The mayor of al-Qasr added "On the other hand there are many numerous areas which we hope will be applied, so that these municipalities will be upgraded, in terms of the levies the government collects, which are distributed to these municipalities, and so that the value of these levies will be raised from 2 fils in the case of some materials on which the levies are imposed to 3 or 4 fils so that they may be distributed and the municipalities subsidized, and part of the sums the municipalities collect through building and professional permits and some other levies may be allocated as income for these municipalities."

#### Al-Shunah As Well

Mr Nadir Subh al-Kayid, the mayor of North al-Shunah, said, "This is an important, beneficial session in the life of the mayors, as a result of the rich information which is available in it, which we are getting from our eminent brother speakers."

He added, "I have been given the opportunity to take part in a number of seminars and sessions inside and outside the kingdom, but I have observed that this session has been characterized by a nature which is

different from those that preceded it, in terms of cooperation with the speakers, who have good lengthy experience in this field. Such sessions also have numerous benefits besides the acquisition of further information. They create constant interconnection among the mayors, getting into conversation on their municipalities, discussing their concerns and agreeing to set out the proper solutions to their problems, as well as strengthening direct relations between themselves and the departments concerned in the Ministry of Municipal and Village Affairs and the Environment."

Mr al-Kayid pointed out that it was necessary that such sessions be reflected on some municipality employees, especially with respect to technical and administrative affairs, emphasizing the importance of continuing to hold such sessions.

#### The Problems of Al-Shunah

With respect to the most important problems, the municipality of North al-Shunah, like other municipalities, suffers from a paucity of financial resources which constitute a force for meeting the aspirations of the mayor and citizens alike.

Mr al-Kayid stressed the importance of the joint service councils and said that they were successful, pointing to the experiment of the joint service council which in addition to the municipality of North al-Shunah included al-Baqrah, al-Manshiyah and al-Adasiyah and the constant work and lofty services the joint council was offering its members.

#### 'Abdallah al-'Adwan

Mr 'Abdallah al-'Adwan, the mayor of South al-Shunah, considered this session distinct from the other sessions in which he had participated, especially in terms of the subject of lectures and lecturers and in terms of constructive debate, hoping that the recommendations which would arise from it would meet with support and action on the part of officials to support the municipalities.

He pointed to the financial problem the municipality of South al-Shunah and the municipalities of the Jordan Valley were suffering from, since South al-Shunah had become the object of attention of citizens and officials in terms of tourist activity, as well as being an agricultural area, which led to expansion in the borders of the municipality, adding the burden of its tasks and duties to it. Therefore government participation was necessary to beautify the municipality and benefit from it in terms of tourist activity and its important tourist location.

In another area, Mr al-'Adwan mentioned that a joint service council had been formed for the District of South al-Shunah also including the municipalities of al-Karamah, al-Rawdah, al-Kafrayn and the village councils of al-Suwaymah, al-Jawfah and al-Rammah, to offer its services in the areas of public health and preservation of

the environment, in addition to the many other services the members of the council need, in view of the extreme importance these joint councils possess.

#### **Jarash First of All**

Mr Muhammad al-Hawamidah, mayor of Jarash, also considered the session important not just because it provided the administrative information necessary for the mayor and the development of concepts at his disposal, but also because it was a valuable occasion for the mayors to exchange views and counsel regarding the issues which concern municipality affairs and officials in the ministry, as well as paving the way for improving the municipalities' conditions.

He said that the municipality is suffering from a shortage of financial resources, which are the basic element in the growth and development of the municipalities and the activities and services they perform, in addition to the municipalities' sufferings with respect to the zoning process, which started at late stages in the life of the municipality.

He also said that the joint service councils were a necessity, lest duplication occur in projects among conflicting municipalities and village councils, because duplication meant the waste of the financial resources, of which these municipalities were suffering a dearth and shortage. These councils also entailed the unification of powers which had the effect of creating a strong, unified council able to carry out projects that were at a strong level because of the unity of the projects.

The mayor of Jarash added, "However, these councils have not been discussed with a great degree of attention. Therefore it is necessary to study them properly so that the benefit will be greater and more general and tasks and responsibilities among these councils and municipalities will not overlap."

#### **Salim Qutaysh**

Mr Salim Qutaysh, the mayor of al-Ramtha, said, "This session should be considered a sign of the increase in knowledge and contact with persons who are specialized in the subject of higher management, and it is proof of the sound policy the Ministry of Municipality Affairs has started to pursue in the area of the development of administrative activity among mayors."

In another area, Mr Qutaysh said that the municipality was suffering from two main problems, the first embodied in material financing and the second in the outstripping of zoning by construction, so that consequently it had become foolish to zone any area, pointing out that the construction which took place on the Damascus-Amman road preceded zoning and consequently we find extreme difficulty in the desired regulation of this area. Also, violations in the areas outside the zoning are not monitored by the ministries concerned. 11887

#### **LIBYA**

##### **Military Studies Decision To Build Berm in Aouzou Strip**

45000041 London *AL-DUSTUR* in Arabic 8 Feb 88 p3

[Text] Libyan military circles are currently studying the Moroccan experience in the Saharan war in response to a decision by Col al-Qadhdhafi to build a defensive wall similar to the Moroccan berm [system] in the Sahara. This berm is to be built along the Aouzou Strip, which is still the scene of conflict between Libya and Chad. The cost of the project will be two billion dollars.

#### **MAURITANIA**

##### **International Aid for Irrigation, Roads, Telecommunication**

46200014 Frankfurt/Main *FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT* in German 11 Jan 88 p 2

[Article entitled: "International Help for Mauritania's Infrastructure"]

[Text] The military government of Mauritania, a country in the Sahara desert, whose most important economic resources are iron ore mining and the fishing industry is trying to develop the country's infrastructure with the assistance of international organizations (World Bank Group, European Development Fund, European Investment Bank, African Development Bank), individual industrial nations including the FRG, and rich Arab oil countries. This is urgently needed in order to support the economy which has run into difficulties and to provide the basis for healthy growth. Economic development has been adversely affected by unfavorable climatic conditions, expansion of the population and migration of rural people to the cities as well as by the conflict over the Sahara between Morocco and the Polisario resistance movement which wants to make an independent country out of the former Spanish colony.

Quite recently rather substantial investments were initiated or completed, particularly in the power supply and artificial irrigation sectors as well as for transportation and telecommunications. In 1987 a German-French-Chinese consortium received an order worth \$32 million to build a finished diesel power plant in Nouakchott, the capital, with a generating capacity of 28 megawatts. German participation by B & W Diesel, Ltd., of MAN [Augsburg-Nuernberg Machine Factory, Inc.], Augsburg, accounts for 48 percent of the total value of the order, France's CGEE [General Electrical Equipment Co.], Alsthom, 32 percent and China's International Water and Electricity Corp. (CWE), Beijing, 20 percent.

MAN will supply the four generators (7 megawatts each) and replacement parts. It will supervise assembly, provide technical assistance and help in training personnel. Electrical engineering was undertaken by France's

CGEE, Alsthom, and construction by China's CWE. The African Development Bank, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD), the French National Central Fund for Economic Cooperation and the Mauritanian government are involved in financing this project.

The OPEC Fund for International Development in Vienna is providing support amounting to \$2 million to rehabilitate the thermal power plant in Ksar. This diesel power plant will supply Nouakchott with electric power until the end of the 1980's. At that time the new plant is supposed to be ready for use. Project agency is the National Water and Electricity Co. (SONELEC), the national power supply enterprise. The total costs of the project are estimated at \$2,975,000.

At the end of April 1987 the Mauritanian National Refining Industry (SOMIR) in Nouadhibou, which had been shut down in June 1983, was officially reopened. Repair of the plant required an investment of \$30 million which was financed by Algeria. The necessary work was entrusted to the Algerian National Enterprise for Petroleum Engineering (ENEP) which in turn had subcontracted the work to the British subsidiary of the American M. W. Kellogg Co. in Houston. A seawater desalination plant was incorporated with two production lines (720 cubic meters each per day). In addition, a propane gas extraction plant and a pipeline to supply the adjoining facilities of the National Industrial and Mining Co. (SNIM) were built.

In the Nouakchott region a new deep-sea harbor named Port de l'Amitie was put into operation at the beginning of October 1987. It was built by a consortium of Chinese state enterprises which completed it 7 months ahead of schedule. The PRC financed the project with an interest-free credit of \$150 million. The harbor has a 585-meter wharf and the water is over 10 meters deep; three ships with a cargo capacity of 10,000 tons each can be handled simultaneously.

In addition, two large warehouses were built; adjoining them is a 50,000-square-meter storage area. The transshipping capacity of the new harbor is quoted at 1 million tons per year. The old Nouakchott harbor with an annual transshipping capacity of 350,000 tons continues to be in operation. The Nouakchott Maritime Agency is responsible for both harbors. The International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank Group and the European Development Fund were involved in financing the harbor equipment. The Mauritanian government is counting on landlocked Mali conducting part of its foreign trade via the new harbor.

In September 1987 the European Development Fund provided financing amounting to 15 million ecus (1 ecu = approximately DM2.08) to complete a road project. Specifically this involves repairing and reinforcing a 93.5-km section of the Nouakchott-Rosso road and a 78-km

section of the Boutilimit-Aleg road. These roads represent the country's primary traffic routes. The project, which is being fully financed by the European Development Fund, is supposed to be completed by 1990.

In October 1987 the European Investment Bank (EIB) granted a 10-million-ecu loan which is to be used by the National Industrial and Mining Co. primarily to improve operation of the railroad between the port of Nouadhibou and the iron ore hoists in Guelb el Rhein and to establish a radio link between Nouadhibou and the iron ore site of Zouerate to improve railroad operation and to link the EDP systems of both places. In addition, various investments are to be undertaken for better operation of auxiliary and support equipment, particularly in the ore-enriching sector. The overall cost of the project, which will probably be completed in 1990, is quoted at 62 million ecus. Other suppliers of capital are the European Development Fund (18 million ecus), the African Development Bank (10 million ecus), the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development/KFAED (5.4 million ecus), the AFESD (4 million ecus) and France (6 million ecus).

In addition, in October 1987 the European Investment Bank (EIB) approved a loan of 21 million ecus to complete the second phase of the West African telecommunication project Intelcom. The total investment cost was estimated at 51.7 million ecus. In addition to Mauritania the project also affects Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Mali. For Mauritania the overall project calls for building seven telephone offices with 2,000 lines, installing local exchange networks in seven cities and providing a radio link from Nouakchott via Kaedi to Kayes in neighboring Mali.

The FRG is supporting the Gorgol irrigation project in Mauritania. In 1986 capital assistance for this project was increased by DM5 million. DM16 million had previously been promised in 1981. Mention should also be made of another irrigation project in Boghe for which rather substantial German capital assistance was given totalling DM53 million. The German consulting engineering firms which were involved in these two irrigation projects include AHT Agricultural and Hydroengineering Inc., Essen, Agropress Kienbaum International, Inc., Bonn, Decon German Energy-Consulting Engineering Co., Ltd., Bad Homburg, and Lahmeyer International, Inc., Frankfurt.

In June 1987 the African Development Fund approved a loan in the amount of 11.15 million units of account (1 unit of account is approximately \$1.18) to develop the irrigation system in the Kaedi and Gouraye regions. The project agency is the National Rural Development Co. (SONADER). This project, whose total costs are given as being 12.63 million units of account, is to be completed by 1992.

## SAUDI ARABIA

### Anti-Jewish Poem Recited at Riyadh Festival

#### Annual Festival Inaugurated

*Mecca AL-NADWAH in Arabic 14 Feb 88 p 8*

[Excerpts] Behold Riyadh as with open heart it receives a distinguished group of the Gulf population in the context of their first festival, constituting the nucleus of an annual event where contributions can pour in and where ideas can interact and crystallize.

The festival was conceived as a pioneering step which was espoused by His Royal Highness Prince Faysal Ibn Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, director general of Youth Welfare, and which has produced good results. The sons and daughters of the Gulf lived a week whose moments were fragrant with the perfume of poetry.

A number of poets and critics from the Gulf states made contributions.

#### Anti-Jewish Poem Recited

*Mecca AL-NADWAH in Arabic 14 Feb 88 pp 8-9*

[“Poem in Search of Translation” by Omani poet Salim Ibn 'Ali al-Kalbani; recited at Gulf Poetry Festival held in Riyadh, date unspecified]

[Text] Behold, I make my plea. Hearken O world, as I make my plea, my complaint, my devout supplication—Perchance you may look upon it with favor. I utter not an eloquent poem, a legendary psalm, a song of praise that gurgling streams are wont to sing. My words are but the sighs, the moaning of a prayerful heart. Hearken, and contemplate!

My words relate the tale of a people whose life is lost, whose dignity is trampled; a people despised by fortune, wronged and afflicted by life; a people forced by cruel fate to endure what patience deems intolerable. For this people no choice is left save to beg and plead. Reflect, o world! Reflect, and contemplate!

Once this people was gentle and peace-loving; once they were well-loved by all mankind; once they enjoyed the highest esteem of men.

But time did change: fortune was swept away, and evil at this century's dawn was ushered in. History records that men, around the vast globe, were displeased to see among them the hateful Jewish people, a pompous people, oppressive, ravaging the rights of others, tyrannical, a people claiming that the God of Creation chose them, that they were the product of celestial light, while others were formed of clay.

Mankind grew weary and deemed it best to banish them from the land. By malicious intent and with far-reaching goals, mankind resolved to congregate them in noble

Palestine, exploiting the kindness of its peaceful people who, as luck ordained, were dormant when this evil swept in. Thus mankind relinquished the sacred realm to this Jewish abomination.

Oh, the calamity! Oh, the pressing, daily escalating evil!

The days, the months went by, and then the years. Unwary Muslims lay, heedless of the encompassing danger, as wily men conspired and Jews flocked in from everywhere.

Lo and behold! the sacred homeland was usurped; the free Arab, by his feet dragged out. In the name of God, marvel, O world! The outsider has become the authentic native; the native is now a miserable exile, destined to be killed, or to spend his years fettered in eternal chains. Oh, the wretch! How he suffers! Death has become a goal to seek, for gone are his life-sustaining wishes. His nation washed its hands of him: no help or succor can he seek therein.

Forgive his alienation; forgive his outbursts; forgive his intention to destroy his oppressor and gain his freedom. He no longer knows what to do. No longer can his eyes provide a torch for the darkness of despair. Oppression has turned his gentleness into viciousness. The languor that once restrained him has turned into fervor. He now awaits the day when he can smite the enemy with a mighty hand, and force a cup of poison upon those who poisoned his cup.

Never will he turn back! Never will he renounce the rights he seeks. Fate has ordained him their defender. Onward, then, must he proceed, with patience armed; no longer can he tarry.

The misfortunes of fate have taught him to defend himself in various ways; taught him how to lay a trap in the lion's path; taught him to devise the implements of death, for necessity is the mother of invention; taught him that the Angel of Death smites with a mast. Onward he rushed, and saw with his own eyes the horror and was determined. He proceeded to wash away his humiliation with blood, for once humiliation spreads, only pure blood can wash it away.

Stunned by his valor, the enemies heaped insults upon him; a crime they deemed his courage to demand his rights; in numerous ugly robes of terrorism they presented him; they depicted him as a demon who came to ignite his hellfire in this world.

Evil was his purpose wherever he went. One of Hitler's clan they counted him, a Hulagu come to establish the domain of death. Wherever he settled or roamed, a harbinger of evil to ensue! Thus they spoke, and many believed them; thus they sounded the Palestinian people's knell; thus they clipped the Palestinian's wings lest he should fly; thus they concealed his tragedy with a veil.

While impotent multitudes everywhere watch in amusement, the freedom fighter bleeds; in crimson he bathes: afflicted, despised, utterly wiped out by oppression.

What must we do, O world? What deed does duty call upon us to perform today? What must really be done about this predicament? Of the hundreds of questions, let us answer but one; let us not be deceptive, let us not go to excess in order to remove the blame from ourselves; let us not exaggerate for tomorrow our conscience will be called to reckoning on his account, and our failing, if not rectified, will be unveiled. Did we ever ask about the extent of his problem? Did we stand by his side, even once, in his tribulation? Did we ever break the yoke from his neck? Did we ever follow his steps into the abyss of his exile?

Homeless is he, vanquished and deprived of his country. Would that I knew what he should do, where he should go now that clouds of despair have darkened all prospects.

## SUDAN

### Increase in Tilled Acreage Produces Crop Bounty 45040077a Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic Feb 3 88 p 1

[Text] In his report which he presented yesterday to the constituent assembly, the minister of agriculture, Dr 'Umar Nur-al-Da'im, dismissed the idea that a famine would occur in the country. The minister said that the surplus production of certain crops, including sorghum, which this year produced a yield of 2,000,000,000 tons, would meet the country's needs until next December. He pointed out that this had been achieved through the measures taken by the government to combat pests, provide agricultural incomes, and establish a price-setting policy for crops. However, he said that the agricultural projects in the southern regions had not seen any improvement because of the security situation there.

The Minister of Agriculture said that the acreages of some crops had increased. The sesame acreage this year reached 220,000 feddans, an increase of 2 percent over last year, and the acreage of sunflower was 123,000 feddans, an increase of 313 percent. Cotton acreage increased 9 percent, vegetables 71 percent, gum 55 percent, and beans 200 percent over last year. He stated that his ministry would work in the upcoming phase to renovate and improve some projects in the Sudan through British, German, and Yugoslavian aid.

The Minister of Agriculture mentioned that Arab ministers of agriculture, in their latest meeting in Khartoum, had agreed that the situation regarding Arab food security was extremely bad, and that investment in it had declined from 65 percent to 51 percent within a brief period of time. The ministers expect that the amount allocated by Arab countries for food procurement, now estimated to be \$35 billion a year, will double in future

years. He said that the ministers believed that the Sudan had investment opportunities that the Arab states could exploit, since they stressed that solving the Arab food security issue should be based on a clearly defined strategy in the form of expanding wheat cultivation and reviewing water use policies and structural policies in the production sectors in order to give priority to the agricultural sector.

The Minister said that the four-point program for economic recovery had allocated 3 billion pounds to the agricultural sector, which would enable it to achieve a rate of growth of 5 percent and an increase of 19 percent in the rate of agricultural production and export revenues.

The minister stated at the conclusion of his report that he had uncovered financial discrepancies in some of the agricultural projects, and that the matter had been turned over to the public prosecutor to be investigated. He said that the corruption that had accompanied the execution of some joint projects with the Arab countries in the Sudan during the past era had caused Arab capital to be withheld from investment in the Sudan, corruption such as occurred in the Kinanah project, whose costs had been set at \$100,000,000, but on which a billion dollars were spent.

12547

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### Paper Says Zayid's Sinai Visit of Historic Value JN201957 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 18 Mar 88 p 1

[Untitled Editorial]

[Text] During his historic visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt, His Royal Highness Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan was anxious to visit the pure, liberated Sinai. It is the first such visit by a GCC leader to the Sinai peninsula since it was liberated from the filth of Zionist occupation—a liberation that began its real course with the glorious October war, to which President Mubarak contributed a wonderful role by leading the Egyptian Air Force in one of its famous battles.

Zayid's and Mubarak's visit to Sinai yesterday, and to Sharm al-Shaykh in particular, is—under the current situation—of great importance and deep historical value. After the aggression of 5 June 1967, the then Israeli minister of war [as published], Moshe Dayan, declared, "Israel prefers Sharm al-Shaykh without peace to a peace without Sharm al-Shaykh." Some years later, and under the pressure of the October war, the Zionist enemy was obliged to withdraw not only from Sharm al-Shaykh but also from the entire Arab Sinai.

Without the October war and the victory achieved in it, the Israeli enemy would not have withdrawn from the Arab Sinai—from its south in Sharm al-Shaykh, and from its north in Rafah, in which the enemy had set up the Yamit settlement, which it was obliged to destroy and carry away.

It is through struggle, jihad, steadfastness, and Arab solidarity that we force the Zionist enemy to withdraw and leave every single inch of our Arab land. This is perhaps what Zayid drew attention to when he called on the heroes of the Palestinian uprising to continue on and on. He told them loudly and unequivocally; "Our hearts, money, and souls support the uprising."

From the uprising in occupied Palestine to the liberated Sinai, Zayid's stand and view are unified. He is the man of accord, solidarity, and Arab unity. His call for a study of investment and tourism ventures in Sharm al-Shaykh is bound with his call to support the uprising. He realizes that the liberation of Sharm al-Shaykh and Sinai as a whole takes its real dimension through the best investment of this land and through converting the liberated peninsula into projects that will lead to an increase in its population to form a protective wall for Egypt, and so that Sinai may become the ring linking Egypt to the entire Arab east.

## BANGLADESH

### Reaction to Rumor of Indian Invasion Plan Reported

#### Rawalpindi Paper Quoted

46001346 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
29 Feb 88 pp 1, 8

[Article: "India Plans To Take Over Bangladesh?"]

[Text] "The Nation", a daily newspaper published from Rawalpindi, has said that "India may eventually take over Bangladesh under an ambitious plan", reports BSS.

The report, published on February 20 from its London-based correspondent, said, "India has changed priorities in its expansionist policy and is about to embark on a most ambitious plan in the area," highly placed Indian sources said today.

"The plan deals with creating a total political chaos in Bangladesh and eventually the total takeover of the country by the Indian army. Sources said that the plan was discussed last week by India's highest body dealing with national security. The meeting held in the Prime Minister's Secretariat was chaired by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and participated by the Defence Minister, heads of all the three armed services the heads of intelligence bureau and RAW."

"Two top Soviet naval and military advisers in Delhi attended the meeting on special invitation".

"The plan envisages to create political tension to the extent of civil war similar to the one in 1971, forcing the people to migrate to Indian territory."

"This would justify the invasion of the Indian army. To manipulate such a situation, Indian government is to support one of the many political parties, close to Indian government in the country through its agencies. Some pro-Indian army officers in the Bangladesh Army are also being approached to facilitate the Indian army invasion."

"Sources said that after the "success" in Sri Lanka operation, India now wants to concentrate on its eastern border as Indian analysts believe the weak Bangladesh flank could create problems for the country."

"Sources said that already 100,000 Indian troops have been amassed on Manipur and Tripura fronts and more are to follow. The troops will intervene soon as the situation becomes explosive."

#### Indian High Commission Press Release

46001346 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
1 Mar 88 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Provocative Nonsense, says Indian High Commission"]

[Text] Following is the press release issued by the Indian High Commission in Dhaka yesterday, reports BSS.

An obscure daily published from Rawalpindi, Pakistan, has made the ludicrous claim that India has plans to invade Bangladesh. This report has been carried on the front page of several Bangladesh dailies yesterday. The High Commission of India is appalled that credence should have been given to such rubbish.

The government and the people of India have nothing but goodwill towards the people of Bangladesh and wish them well. India believes that it has demonstrated through its actions, from 1971 onwards, that it is a true friend of Bangladesh.

There are those, whose interests would be served by sowing dissension between the people of Bangladesh and the people of India. It should be our attempt to promote amity trust and friendship. Their ends are not served by the publication of provocative nonsense.

#### Political Parties React

46001346 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
1 Mar 88 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Concern at the Reported Indian Conspiracy"]

[Text] The news report on possible Indian invasion of Bangladesh published in the national dailies yesterday has evoked sharp reaction among the people of different shades of opinion.

They expressed their grave concern at the reported Indian blueprint for a possible attack on Bangladesh and condemned this.

Bangladesh Muslim League at an emergency meeting yesterday expressed its deep concern at the reported Indian design and urged the government to take up the issue immediately at the Organization of Islamic Conference and other international fora.

The Muslim League also condemned construction of an embankment by India inside Bangladesh, as published in some newspapers recently, and said it was a naked onslaught on the sovereignty of Bangladesh.

Progatisheel Ganatantrik Shakti expressed its concern at the reported Indian move and strongly condemned it.

Col. (rtd) Sharif Rashid Khan and Mr. Waheeduzzaman, President and General Secretary respectively of the party, in joint statement, criticised the present government for pursuing a 'submissive foreign policy' for which, they said, India could dare to have such plans.

Bangladesh Nezam-e-Islam Party leaders Mr. Abdul Latif and Maulana Abdul Karim in a joint statement expressed their grave concern at the reported Indian plan of taking over Bangladesh.

They demanded resignation of the present government to pave the way for a greater national unity under a neutral government for protecting country's independence and sovereignty and upholding the national dignity.

Advocate Sa'ad Ahmed and Barrister Korban Ali, acting President and Secretary General of Islami Oikya Andolan, in joint statement, strongly condemned the reported Indian plan.

Juba Parishad also expressed concern and said India was out to create chaos in Bangladesh with the help of its agents inside the country for paying the way for Indian invasion.

Bangladesh People's Party Chairman Mohammad Shahjahan and Secretary General Mohibul Huq also condemned the reported Indian design.

Others who issued statements expressing their concern and condemning the reported Indian plan are President of Bangladesh Krishak Parishad Mr. Jahangir Kabir, Bangladesh Manabatabadi Dal Chairman Nizammuddin Ahmed and acting General Secretary Afzal Hussain, Bangladesh Islami Chatra Shakti President M. Abul Hossain Firoz and Secretary General Mustafa Tarek Hasan.

**Motivation of Reportage Questioned**  
46001346 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
2 Mar 88 p 1

[Article: "Release of Pak Newspaper Report Motivated"]

[Text] The Liaison Committee of the three major opposition alliances has described the release of the news report by the government-controlled news agency on possible Indian invasion as "undesirable and motivated."

Issuing a statement last night, the committee protested publication of such report by the Pakistani newspaper and said this report was released by the government media with the intention to divert the attention of the people from the ongoing united movement directed against the present rulers.

The Liaison Committee said no propaganda could deviate people from the current anti-Government movement.

Mr Rashed Khan Menon, General Secretary of the Workers Party, in a statement also protested circulation of the so-called Indian plan quoting from a Pakistani newspaper.

He said this was an audacity on the part of the Pakistani paper to undermine sovereign Bangladesh by saying that India would invade this country.

JSD General Secretary Hasanul Huq Inu in a statement has described the release of the report on Indian invasion as "motivated" and said people would not pay heed to such propaganda and carry out the current movement till fall of the Government.

He said this was a futile exercise of the Government to use such a report by an obscure daily of Pakistan to divert attention of the people.

**More Foreign Aid Needed To Meet Third Plan Target**

46001343 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 26 Feb 88 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Slow Disbursement To Affect Growth Rate"]

[Text] Bangladesh will require 540 crore dollars external assistance during the remainder of the Third Five-Year Plan (1988-1990) to achieve the growth rate above 5 per cent. The need for foreign aid will continue even during the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1991-95) which has been estimated by World Bank at 1200 crore dollars.

The World Bank has further projected that export earnings would finance a growing share of imports from an average 31 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan to 37 per cent in 1990 and 44 per cent in 1995.

The amount stated above for the remainder of the period of the Third Five-Year Plan at 540 crore must be disbursed during the period for achieving the desired growth rate. But the disbursement rate has slowed down over the last few months due to political unrest. The donors' conditionality of progress in various development works suffered due to political disturbances since November and for the devastating floods before that. The external resources division therefore apprehends a fall in disbursement rate of foreign aid during the current fiscal year.

The World Bank noted with concern that the commitments of aid in fiscal years '86-'87 and '87-'88 had fallen below expectations averaging only 1.6 billion dollars each year in comparison with 1.7 billion dollars (170 crore dollars) in fiscal year '81 to '85. It is important that for the remaining years of the Third Five Year Plan real commitment levels must be restored to '81-'85 level. This

would imply average annual commitments of 200 crore (two billion) dollars-rising from 180 crore to 190 crore in 1988 to 210 crore dollars in 1990. In real terms, however, this will remain equivalent to the level during the fiscal year 1981-85 period.

Bangladesh will continue to receive foreign aid on three counts in future too. These are food aid, commodity aid or non-project aid and project aid. Bangladesh got the commitment of foreign assistance during the period from 16th December 1971 to June, 1987 to the tune of 2113 crore dollars equivalent to Taka 65,500 crore. But the real disbursement during the same period was 1541 crore dollars equivalent to Taka 47,770 crore. Out of the committed foreign assistance of 2113 crore dollars Bangladesh received 971 crore dollars in grant and 1113 crore dollars in loans from different countries and the aid giving agencies.

Out of 2113 crore dollars foreign assistance committed till June last, 395 crore dollars were committed as food aid, 614 crore dollars as non-project aid and 1105 crore dollars as project aid. Out of the disbursement of 1541 crore dollars till June 1st the amount of food aid was 377 crore dollars, non-project aid 567 crore dollars and project aid 597 crore dollars. The grant portion of the disbursed foreign assistance was 785 crore dollars which constituted 50.97 per cent of the total foreign assistance received so far. The amount of loan during this period was 756 crore dollars. Bangladesh mainly received external assistance from five major sources. These are: Development Assistance Committee Countries (DAC countries), international and multi-lateral agencies like World Bank, IMF, IDA, Asian Development Bank etc, centrally planned countries (non-socialist countries) and OPEC countries.

#### Total Assistance

The total assistance received from DAC countries was 745 crore dollars till June, 1986 which is the highest among the five groups. Out of this DAC assistance 490 dollars (65.88 per cent) came as grant. The United States is the major donor among the DAC countries and the total assistance granted to Bangladesh till June 1986 from on 16th December 1971 by the United States stood at 208 crore dollars. Japan has extended 150 crore dollars, Canada 98 crore dollars, Federal Republic of Germany 63 crore dollars, the U.K. 58 crore dollars, the Netherlands 46 crore dollars and Sweden 27 crore dollars. The upto date figure of the assistance extended by the DAC countries is yet to be computed.

The multi-lateral agencies provided total assistance of 464 crore dollars during the same period out of which 32.43 per cent came as grant. International Development Association (IDA), the soft lending window of the World Bank gave the highest amount of assistance which stood at 217 crore dollars till June, 1986.

The centrally planned countries extended a total of 47 crore dollars assistance to Bangladesh till June, '86. Out of this amount, 8.90 per cent came as grant and 91.10 per cent came as loan. Soviet Union provided 27 crore dollars and Czechoslovakia 4.6 crore. China has provided 7.7 crore dollars as loan and 2.2 million dollars as grant.

The oil rich OPEC countries provided 83 crore dollars out of which 60 per cent was grant and 39.89 per cent was loan. Only Saudi Arabia has provided 47 crore dollars out of total OPEC contribution as grant.

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**Hasina, Khaleda Issue Joint Appeal for Unity**  
46001344 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 27 Feb 88 p 1

[Article: "Carry Forward Mass Movement"]

[Text] Awami League chief and leader of Eight-party Alliance Sheikh Hasina and B.N.P. Chairman and leader of Seven-party Alliance Begum Khaleda Zia on Friday called upon the people to carry on their united movement to establish people's rule in the country, reports BSS.

In a joint statement, the two Opposition leaders alleged that attempts were being made to bring about far-reaching changes in the political, economic and administrative fields with a view to "exploiting the people".

They further alleged that the country's politics and administration were being so changed as to perpetuate the present rule.

They maintained that efforts were being made to shift the responsibility of all the happenings in connection with the election onto the shoulders of others.

They felt that the country was being pushed to the path of confrontation through chaos, destruction of election system and foiling the "democratic process by depriving the right of vote".

They said it was their civic responsibility to pay respect to the people by responding to their call with a view to establishing democratic system by eliminating once and for all politics of killing and conspiracy to establish rule of law, neutral administration and fundamental rights of the people and to ensure a better future for them.

/12223

## Paper Reports Troubles in Parliament Elections

### Clashes, Deaths

46001347 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 4 Mar 88 p 1

[Article: "JS Polls Held Amidst Widespread Violence"]

[Text] Election to 281 constituencies of 300-seat Jatiya Sangsad was held on Thursday amid widespread violence including killing of several persons, snatching of ballot boxes, bomb blasts and arson. The election had to be postponed in two hundred polling centres due to disturbances and absence of polling officials.

Official sources confirmed five deaths, hundreds of injuries, blank fire by the members of law-enforcing agencies and postponement of polls in about 170 centres.

Official sources said that four persons were killed in the Dhaka city and one person in Shibalaya in Manikganj district. The victims are: Rezaul Karim Khokan and Kamaruzzaman Mimi (Hammadia High School centre at Armanitola), Ritan, Mirpur Section 1 and Abdurrazzaque of Mirpur section 11. The name of the victim of Shibalaya has been identified as Abdul Bareque, 35, supporter of an independent candidate.

Our Jamalpur Correspondent reports that Jamaluddin, 30 and Sultannudin, 25, two brothers were killed in Jamalpur.

Opposition leaders Sheikh Hasina and Begum Khaleda Zia who termed the election as a farce however claimed that at least 10 persons were killed and the turn out of voters was almost nil. They claimed that the people did not participate in the polls responding to their call and congratulated them for observing Opposition's continuous 36-hour programme ending at 6 p.m. on Thursday. Both Khaleda and Hasina rejected the polls.

Reports from different parts of the country said that many of the polling stations were occupied by men belonging to contesting candidates who clashed with others using fire arms and lethal weapons.

The polling officials in many centres of the country including the Dhaka city abandoned the polling centres out of fear. A large number of polling centres were shut down by midday.

Hundreds of people all over the country were injured. In Dhaka city alone about 100 persons were admitted to different hospitals and clinics with injuries sustained in clashes during the elections. Our D.M.C.H. Correspondent confirmed admission of 61 injured persons in Medical College hospital alone with eight others in Mitford Hospital. Dozens of people injured including 10 persons at city BNP office while it came under bomb attack.

During the clashes many people were taken into police custody including 21 persons in Khaka city.

### Newsmen's Protest

46001347 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 6 Mar 88 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Newsmen Protest Press Curbs"]

[Text] Newspapers all over the country did not appear on Saturday as journalists went on strike on Friday at the call of Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists (BFUJ) to protest the restrictions on objective coverage of news, closure of several newspapers, arrest of journalists, assault of newsmen and obstruction in discharge of professional duty.

BFUJ took the decision at an extended emergency meeting of the Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists, Dhaka Union of Journalists (DUJ), Executive Editors and News Editors of different dailies and weeklies. The meeting was presided over by President of BFUJ Mr. Reazuddin Ahmed.

The decision of the journalists was endorsed by leaders of Bangladesh Press Workers and General Workers Federation. All newspapers except the Daily Janata in Dhaka and Daily Prabha in Khulna did not appear. DUJ has no unit in the Dainik Janata.

Bangladesh Sangbadpatra Parishad expressed its solidarity with the programme of the journalists.

The journalists in their meeting on Friday reviewed the situation arising out of the increasing pressure on newspapers to suppress truth and observed that the newspapers were thus losing credibility to the readers. The meeting noted with concern that despite the assurance by Information Minister on Thursday at a post-election Press conference that there was no restriction in objective coverage of election news, the newspapers were asked at midnight to follow Government Press advice. The reporters were not allowed to enter the Election Commission office for coverage of election results on the day and they left the venue lodging a protest with the Chief Election Commissioner. Two newsmen were assaulted on the election day in a constituency outside Dhaka.

The meeting of the journalists expressed indignation at the closure of the Banglar Bani, the Dainik Khabar, and a number of weeklies and also demanded the release of arrested journalists including Mr. Faez Ahmed.

The meeting hoped that the Government would withdraw the restrictions on objective coverage of news and called upon all to cooperate with the newsmen.

The newsmen in Chittagong held a meeting at the Press Club with Mr. Azizul Islam Bhuiyan in the chair and brought out a procession following their rally.

In Khulan the journalists held a protest meeting at the Press Club with Mr. Shahabuddin Ahmed in the chair.

**Election Conduct Slated**

46001347 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 6 Mar 88 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Conducting of JS Polls Slated"]

[Excerpt] There was widespread protests and condemnation from different quarters on Saturday against holding of what they called a farcical election in the name of Jatiya Sangsad election by the government on Thursday. Political leaders expressed their deep anger against and indignation at the government for holding the polls where the turn out of genuine voters was very poor.

Reports reaching from the districts till Saturday night indicated that there was virtually no genuine voter in any polling centres and a large number of polling centres were shut down before noon on the day of election. The supporters of the influential candidates allegedly occupied the polling centres and stuffed the ballot boxes for their respective candidates.

Our Natrokon correspondent said that in six centres of Natrokon town neither male nor female genuine voters were reportedly present.

The Eight-Party Alliance, Seven-Party Alliance, Jamaat-e-Islami, Five-Party Alliance, Six-Party Alliance on Saturday held protest rallies in the city against the holding of a farcical election. The rallies criticised the ways the election was conducted and called for resignation of the government.

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**Banks Flout Directive on Small Industry Credit**

46001345 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 29 Feb 88 p 1

[Article: "Credit Squeeze Hinders Growth of Small Industry"]

[Text] Khulna, Feb. 26:—The growth of small and cottage industries in the country is being seriously affected due to credit squeeze by the banks and other financial agencies. Though the Government and the Bangladesh Bank have issued specific directive to finance this sector under the new industrial policy announced in 1986, most of the scheduled banks functioning in the country are flouting the directive of the Government causing poor utilisation of credits set under this sector.

The new industrial policy envisages that at least five per cent of the total loanable funds of all schedule banks must be disbursed every year to provide credits to entrepreneurs small and cottage industries in the country. The Bangladesh Bank has also issued circulars giving a specific quota of fund against each bank of small and

cottage industrial units in the country. In 1987, the Bangladesh Bank set the target at Taka 95.80 crore to be disbursed by the banks in this sector. But the utilisation of this credit in 1987 was learnt to have been very poor due to poor response both from the small investors and the bank which, in most cases, maintain rigidity in providing long-term credits to small investors because of bad recovery rate against the credit imparted in the past. In the current year, the Bangladesh Bank has set the target of credit in this sector at Taka 75 crore for the period from January to June.

In Khulna where there is scope for setting up of small and cottage industries the utilisation of this credit is found to be very unsatisfactory despite the good response from the respective entrepreneurs. According to local small industry entrepreneurs a number of projects duly studied and apprised by the local office of the Bangladesh Small Industries Corporation (BSIC) have been submitted to different banks in Khulna long ago, but none of these projects has received the credit from the banks so far. The BSIC which now mainly engaged in promotional activity in small industries sector has been entrusted by the Government to find out the prospective entrepreneurs and apprise their industrial projects for obtaining the credits from the banks. It is gathered that despite their recommendations and proper appraisal, the banks continue to show little interest in granting credits to them against their projects. An informed source told this correspondent that 13 small industrial projects involving a total of Taka four crores have been recommended by the BSIC for the credits on usual terms and conditions of the banks but so far no favourable response has been received from the banks, the source said.

Meanwhile, bank source maintains that because of their past experience particularly in the matter of realisation of loans and advances made in this sector, the commercial banks are reluctant to finance small industries unless they are fully apprised and satisfied about the feasibility of the projects and the capability of the sponsors. About 50 per cent of the credits imparted under various schemes including IDA, NORAD and Saudi loans in small and cottage industries sector have been remained outstanding with an annual recovery rate stands at 20 to 30 per cent in Khulna alone, they added.

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**'Largescale' Violence in Union Parishad Elections**

**Violence Countrywide**

46001340 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 11 Feb 88 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Over 80 Killed, 5,000 Injured"]

[Excerpt] Over 80 persons were killed and over 5,000 others injured in largescale violence during Union Parishad election on Wednesday all over the country.

The Home Ministry confirmed 39 deaths till 10 p.m. on the day. The official figure of deaths was 12 in Dhaka Division, six in Rajshahi Division, Five in Khulna Division and 16 in Chittagong Division. The death toll may rise further.

The fourth UP elections at the lowest tier of the local Government did not witness such a widespread violence and killing in the past.

In 20,000 polling centres throughout the country polling in about 4,000 were postponed following the violence between rival groups of people, according to reports reaching the Bangladesh Observer office.

Polling in about 100 unions was postponed by the Election Commission earlier due to dispute over delimitation of Union Parishads. In 1983-1984 UP election was postponed in 608 polling centres due to disturbance.

This year a total of 18,566 candidates contested for the posts of Chairmen in 4,337 out of 4,401 Union parishads. In 64 UPs Chairmen have been elected unopposed. A total of 115,318 candidates contested against the posts of 39,302 members. Already 307 members have been elected unopposed.

According to an estimate about Taka seven crore will be spent for holding the UP elections.

In most of the places lethal weapons, bombs and firearms were freely used between the rival groups of supporters. Ballot boxes were snatched away from some centres, according to our Correspondents from different parts of the country.

Police opened fire and resorted to shell tear gas and lathicharge to quell the disturbance. Several persons were taken into custody from different centres but the situation was such that the policemen were hard put to control.

**Security Inadequate**  
46001340 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
11 Feb 88 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Over 70 Killed, Thousands Injured in UP Election Violence"]

[Excerpt] At least 70 persons were killed and thousands injured in widespread violence during the union parishad polls all over the country yesterday.

Home Secretary A.K.M. Kamaluddin Chowdhury last night confirmed 39 deaths in poll violence. Talking to the New Nation at 10pm he said reports of violence were still coming in.

Polling was suspended in more than 2,500 out of a total of 21,000 centres. In many centres, supporters of rival candidates drove out the presiding and polling officers.

Security arrangement was inadequate—which encouraged supporters of rival candidates to resort to violence. Police sources admitted they could not deploy forces in all the centres because the polling was held on a single day. Ansars without rifles were, however, posted in polling centres where police could not be deployed.

As in the past, polling was scheduled for seven days but the Election Commission later decided to hold the polls on a single day.

Among the wounded were polling and presiding officers. There were many critically wounded persons with gunshot injuries. Lethal weapons were freely used.

**Commentary Views Election Violence**  
46001340 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER* in English 12 Feb 88 p 5

[Article: "Violence In UP Elections"]

[Editorial] Union Parishad Elections held on schedule, were marked by a scale of violence that should not go unnoticed, particularly by the administration. As reported, there have been more than 80 deaths and about five thousand injured at the different polling centres. This goes counter to what President Ershad has stressed time and again that the peace and peaceful polling should be ensured at all levels of election in the country. Even in a recent speech the President made a point of not allowing any one getting to power through violence. This is exactly what the peace-loving citizens of the country would look for and see put into practice in all spheres and on all occasions, specially in those where the chances of violence are great. The reported election toll is admittedly one which is unusual even by third world standards making a complete absence of violence a rare phenomenon.

While one notes the enthusiasm with which the electorate and candidates took to UP poll campaigning and voting one cannot help feeling dismayed by the easy proneness to violence between groups of supporters of candidates and the unconscionable speed with which they rushed to killing each other. The rate of violence and the fear of its getting worse is borne out by the fact that polling in about 4,000 centres out of a total of 20,000 has been postponed.

The free-for-all nature of the clashes and the lethal results that it led to in so many cases raises primarily the question of law and order. But something deeper than the routine law and order considerations cries for special administrative attention. Most of the incidents of violence including those with fatalities are cases in which the fighting groups took the law into their own hands and got the dispute sorted out on the spot by sheer force. This happens, generally only when the machinery of law as a whole comes to be regarded either ineffective in dispensing justice to the wronged or otherwise gives the impression that anyone committing any excess can get away

with it. This is therefore a question of public confidence, increasing or decreasing, in the legal institutions responsible for social peace, punishment of the wrongdoer and justice to those who ask for it. The institutions range from police and court to the overall judicial system operating in the country. Elections or no elections, this is and ought to be a question of paramount importance both to the general public as well as the administration. What is worth noting is that such a decline in people's view of law, or in the fear of it never happens overnight. Years of incompetence in dealing with crime and breaches of the law coupled with inadequacies ranging from shortage of courts, judges and other human and material supports to dispensation of justice account for an order of things which threaten eventually to get out of hand.

In the UP elections now on there have been, right from the beginning, signs pointing to possible outbreaks of violence on polling day. This could have been easily foreseen, and forestalled. This argues an insufficiency of vigilance which needs to be explained by those responsible for peace and order on such sensitive occasions.

Our purpose in pointing out and commenting on the violence in UP elections is mainly to alert the administration about how, given precautions and pre-emptive actions, the violence could have been kept down to an unavoidable minimum, if not totally stopped. If there is nothing to reprove what has already happened, its lesson should not be lost, especially on the law and order authority. There are, as mentioned above, about 4,000 centres where the postponed elections will be held. It is most important that the chances of repetition of violence are removed and the elections held peacefully.

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## INDIA

### Papers Report, Comment on Nuclear Sub From USSR

**Commissioning by Gandhi**  
51500129 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Feb 88 p 5

[Text] Visakhapatnam, Feb 8 (UNI, PTI)—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today commissioned India's first nuclear-powered submarine and declared that "we have ensured sail-safe environmental and radiation protection."

Mr Gandhi personally received the submarine INS Chakra at an impressive ceremony here and said particular attention to the management of nuclear waste material had been given.

He said there would be periodic audit of waste material thus setting aside any apprehensions that spent fuel could cause any radiation hazards.

With the commissioning of the submarine the Indian Navy becomes the second one in Asia after the Chinese to have nuclear-powered submarines in its fleet to give it the true water capability.

With the displacement of 5,100 tonnes while submerged, the INS Chakra is on lease to the Indian Navy from the Soviet Navy. The Prime Minister said the Soviet gesture marked a milestone in Indo-Soviet cooperation in the field of defence.

Built at the admiralty yard at Leningrad, the Victor 1 class submarines, which entered service in 1968, boats an armament of 24 torpedoes which are fired through six 21-inch torpedo tubes.

However both the Soviet and Indian Defence Ministry have clarified that the INS Chakra would not be carrying any nuclear warheads. Designed purely as an attack submarine for both anti-submarine and anti-ship roles, Victor 1 SSN submarine was the first of its kind having an albacore hull form, a new reactor system and a new generation design shared by the more modern charlie class nuclear submarines.

With the speed of 32 knots when submerged, the INS Chakra has a snoop tray radar and carries a compliment of 90 sailors. It also has additional standby two steam turbines. INS Chakra also has a very low frequency buoy and self floating radar, while surfaced it communicates through two very high frequency and uniform frequency aerials.

Besides China, only the Soviet Union, the United States, France and British navies possess the nuclear-powered submarines and now India joins this exclusive club.

According to the Jane defence weekly, India might get a few of the more state of art Victor III class submarines in another three or four years. The weekly also speculates that two to four Charlie II SSGN submarines might also be given by the Soviets to India. The Charlie 11 were capable of carrying Cruise missiles.

Victor 111 submarines are the front line subs of the Soviet Navy and were commissioned in 1979 and are still being commissioned. With the addition of the INS Chakra, the Indian submarine fleet strength has risen to fourteen.

Besides the Chakra, the Indian Navy has eight Foxtrot class Soviet submarines acquired in late sixties, three Soviet kilo class submarines specially built for long range patrols with advanced technology teardrop hulls which represents quantum jump for the Indian Navy.

The kilo class submarine has wide-bodied hulls which muffle engine noises and make detection difficult. It has eight torpedo tubes which can fire 16 torpedoes.

The Indian Navy has also acquired two SSK class submarines from West Germany with two more being built indigenously at the Mazagaon docks. The SSK class have purely the anti-submarine kill role.

### Doubts Over Safety

51500129 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
30 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by Raju Santhanam]

[Text] New Delhi, Jan 29—A Soviet nuclear-powered submarine, India's latest acquisition and the first of its kind in the country, which left Soviet waters about a fortnight ago, is likely to surface in India amid doubts about the wisdom of deploying it in Indian waters.

According to reports from Moscow, no details were released about the class of submarine that was handed over at a formal ceremony at the far eastern port of Vladivostok three weeks ago. The Jane's Defence Weekly had speculated that the submarine could be of the "Victor" or the Siera class.

Reliable sources say that no authoritative information has been released because the submarine is of the Charlie class. Knowledgeable experts in the West have referred to this class of submarines as the "Chernobyl class" because of its safety record.

This class of submarine is about 20 years old, which in terms of nuclear technology makes it an antique. Although this leased submarine is not carrying nuclear weapons, it is nuclear-powered and as such has a history of nuclear related design flaws that have proved fatal to Soviet crew.

A better-known incident relating to it occurred in June 1983. The Chernobyl class submarine sank near Petrovavlovsky off the coast of Kamchatka peninsula. In that incident, most of the 90 members of the crew perished.

The Soviet authorities did not release details of the incident but it was reported that a nuclear reactor failure and the fear of nuclear contamination of Soviet port authorities in the event of it being permitted back into the harbour forced the submarine to remain off shore. Before the problem could be attended to, it sank with its crew.

When it reaches India, the submarine is expected to be berthed at Visakhapatnam. Experts say that measures for decontamination of nuclear wastes have not been adopted. Nuclear wastes must be purged periodically from this submarine, it is pointed out. This routine maintenance work requires careful collection of the wastes and storage at well-guarded treatment facilities. Adequate precautions are necessary, particularly because this class of submarine has a history of nuclear reactor failure problems.

During recent years a number of news reports have described other Chernobyl class defects which include reactor failures and inadequate shielding on board the vessel. This could endanger the lives of the crew.

Some defence experts argue that the risks are balanced by the fact that India would have a nuclear submarine. But even disregarding threat of leakage of radiation, the submarines are not modern enough; they are known to create so much noise that they can be easily detected by enemy forces.

The Soviets, in recent years, have developed and deployed modern submarines like the Oscar class that could have been handed over. As one official said, even Soviet satellites in the Eastern Block shy away from taking the "Chernobyl" class of submarines. It is then asked whether the submarines are being palmed off to India knowing fully well that there would be no protests?

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### Pakistan, Bangladesh Governments Labeled Crippled

46240014 New Delhi *NAVBHARAT TIMES* in Hindi  
3 Feb 88 p 4

[Article by Ghanshyam Yadav: "Pakistan and Bangladesh: Governments on Crutches"]

[Text] The governments of Pakistan, Sri Lanka, South Korea, and the Philippines have one thing in common. These Asian countries are directly connected with the United States and their military or civilian dictatorships cannot function without the U.S. approval. It would not be incorrect to say that internal and external policies of these countries are formulated in Washington, D.C.

This does not necessarily mean that the United States wants to strengthen the economies and governments of these countries. The "law of colonialism" dictates never to let a slave government become strong. Even the most backward country with a strong government can bite back at the country that "feeds" it. The United States has several benefits if the governments of these countries are pressured by the people of those countries.

First, the governments under pressure from the people and the opposition will always run to the United States for help. (The opposition and the people can easily overthrow these governments if the United States stops helping them.) The People's Party of Pakistan (PPP) was established by the late Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This party is being led by his daughter, Benazir Ali Bhutto, and is bent upon taking over the government. It can trip General Zia's government at the first opportunity it gets. However, as it happened in the Philippines, this 'opportunity' will happen only when the United States wants it.

At that time, Benazir Bhutto will be presented as another goddess of national security as Aquino was presented in the Philippines. Of course, some military officers will be tied to her.

We have a similar scenario in Bangladesh. There are two Begums [queens]—Begum Khalida Zia and Begum Shiekh Haseena Wajid. One of these will be brought forward to replace General Irshad. At this time General Irshad is protecting U.S. interests in this region. The United States wants to keep the Indian subcontinent divided into a few opposing governments.

It is important to take a look at the opposition movements in Pakistan and Bangladesh. One common factor in these movements is that whenever the opposition parties unite they fall apart before they are able to form a government. Pakistan's movement to "reinstate democracy" failed because of the impulsiveness of Benazir Bhutto and her Mother Nasrat Bhutto and the opportunist nature of opposition leaders. This clearly proves that opportunism is not the quality of a specific religion. It flourishes in any religion or group. Opportunism is not a national quality either. The second common factor of the opposition movements in the two countries is that these are being led by certain dynasties. Shiekh Haseena Wajid, daughter of Mujibul Rehman, believes in pursuing her father's dream in Bangladesh. Begum Khalida Zia (widow of General Ziaul Rehman who was assassinated by fellow military officers) wants to claim her late husband's right. She believes that the government belongs to her since General Irshad had taken over power from her late husband. We have already mentioned the claims staked by Benazir Bhutto and Nasrat Bhutto in Pakistan. We all know that politics of nepotism can be easy but never strong. The names of Bhutto and Rehman in the framework of the tradition of political inheritance help give recognition and acceptance to their children and wives. These names, however, do not guarantee political stability. Such developments provide opportunities to political kingmakers to make deals or pave way to another family dictatorship. Political power received as a family bequeath does not encourage democracy. This is the biggest flaw in this process.

The problem in Bangladesh until recently was that the 'personal party' of General Irshad did not face any united opposition group. The opposition was divided into several factions. During the months of November and December, all opposition political parties, be they left-wing or right-wing, religious or moderate, united to confront the 'personal party' and the government led by General Irshad!

The opposition demanded that General Irshad relinquish power before the general elections since they did not think that holding honest and objective elections were possible while General Irshad was in power. Irshad

is using all kind of political strategies to curb the opposition. The opposition is staging strike after strike to uproot his government. These strikes are very successful because the people are very unhappy with Irshad and his government.

There is more to the internal politics of Bangladesh. The military government of Irshad disguised as a civilian government has the full support of Pakistan, China, and the United States. The opposition has an uphill task as long as this support is there. General Irshad has not demonstrated his military upbringing yet. He has been using the police to curb the opposition. With the increasing success of the opposition, the military could jump in the arena whenever General Irshad's throne is threatened.

The opposition in Pakistan is much worse than it is in Bangladesh. Zia has been more successful in dividing the opposition. There is bitter enmity between Sindhis and Muhajirs [settlers from India since 1947] and Sindhis and Pathans. Bhutto's province, Sind, is the only one giving a serious challenge to Ziaul Haq. Pakistan government, which actually is composed of Punjabi landlords and military officers, appeared to be shaken up. The importance of government and military increased, however, when factional fighting spread. Zia has become strong again. This, however, does not mean that Pakistan's government is prospering. The Muslim countries have divided into Arab and Iran camps. Pakistan's situation has become precarious. Arab countries are not giving unrestricted support to Pakistan. This development will have a strong influence on Pakistan's internal politics. Pakistan cannot live with the U.S. support alone and will not want to be cut off from the Muslim world. It must establish its own identity as a country. The military dictatorship in the guise of a democracy will never help in this situation. Pakistani politics after Benazir's wedding ceremony call for a close scrutiny.

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## NEPAL

### Italy To Increase Aid

46000109b Kathmandu *THE RISING NEPAL* in English 3 Mar 88 p 1

[Text] Kathmandu, 2 March—Italy wants to contribute to Nepal's development efforts than it has been doing so far. [sentence as received]

The Italian Ambassador to Nepal Dr Giovanni Cirillo, who presented his credentials to His Majesty the King last week, agreed in an interview with this reporter Tuesday that Rome's participation in this country's development activities so far remained rather modest. "But we can do much in fields from social welfare to building up of roads than what we are currently doing to help your country."

Dr Cirillo arrived here on 12 February after serving 3 years in South Africa as his country's Consul General in Johannesburg. Since his arrival here he had little time to do some sightseeing for he remained busy in getting to know things.

The Italian Ambassador hails from Naples in Italy and entered the diplomatic career in 1957 by joining the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has served in various capacities in Rome and at the Italian missions in Tokyo, Dakar, Conakry, Malta, Zaire and Canberra. He has three children.

Dr Cirillo, 60, said to Italy, Nepal is a remote country. Rome had done a lot of help to the development of many African countries.

But according to him, time has now come to help countries in South and Southeast Asia with whom Rome already has good relations specially in the cultural fields.

He cited the recent visit of Prime Minister G. Goria and Foreign Minister G. Andreotti of Italy to some countries in South and Southeast Asia as an expression of this desire. "We are now turning our attention to Asia."

In Nepal, seven professors from ISMEO, Rome are engaged in the excavation work in the capital.

Italy has prepared a feasibility study of Taragaon development project.

The Taragaon Cultural and Tourism Centre project is envisaged to be completed in two phases and is expected to cost about 45,000,000 (forty-five million) U.S. dollars. It includes the existing Taragaon hotel which will be improved.

"We are aiming to explore possibilities in other fields for cooperation with this country to have a better and more modern Nepal, Ambassador Cirillo said. "Nepal needs better infrastructure, like roads, to improve the quality of life, he added.

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#### **6 Percent of Nepalis Have Access to Electricity**

46000109a Kathmandu *THE RISING NEPAL* in English 1 Mar 88 p 1

[Text] Charikot, 29 February (RSS)—Six percent of the Nepalese population have access to electricity, of which 2 percent account for people living in the rural areas.

This was disclosed by Minister for Water Resources Dr Yadav Prasad Pant at the Sunkosi-Jiri distribution line inauguration ceremony recently.

Nepal has so far been able to harness only 1 percent of its total water resources.

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#### **Commentary Alleges Government 'Refuses' To Improve Education**

46000109c Kathmandu *THE MOTHERLAND* in English 29 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] It is not surprising that Minister of State for Education and Culture Keshar Bahadur Bista should make obvious hints in his Education Day message that more could be done in terms of productivity orientation and quality education. Although it is not quite possible to ignore the tremendous achievements in numbers in the education sector and the very welcome fillip provided education by His Majesty's declaring primary education free in the country some 13 years ago, there is reason to be concerned at the direction of education in the country.

By and large education comes cheap here. The emphasis in producing higher numbers of educate appears to have bypassed the need for proper education. In other words while we add to the population each year people with certificates and degrees, the actual utility of such a population in the country remains limited since the standards of education prevent them from making any resourceful contribution to the development process.

For mere political ease, the government refuses to crack-down on poor education. This is wreaking havoc on the job market and on national productivity. Where damage has been done most perhaps is in the strains that a mass of poorly educated influential are likely to pose on society itself. It is already getting too late to revamp a system feeding on mediocrity. Minister Bista's message is silent, and understandably so, on these.

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#### **PAKISTAN**

#### **Protocol With Greece Praised**

46000106b Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English 25 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The protocol signed between Greece and Pakistan at the conclusion of 2-day meeting of the Pakistan-Greek Joint Economic Committee in Islamabad on Monday last, would contribute meaningfully to expanding economic relations in their mutual interest. Though the relations between the two countries have always remained sufficiently cordial, the fact was not reflected in the quantum of two-way trade and cooperation in other spheres. As such, the need was there to explore the possibilities for expanding these relations. The initiative that has now been taken would help in fulfilling this need.

There have been genuine political reasons which prevented the growth of economic relations between the two countries. The attitude of the two countries towards each

other remained rather lukewarm mainly due to Turkogreek differences over the Cyprus issue. Pakistan being an ally of Turkey, supported the just stand which the Turkish Government had taken over the issue. However, the situation has now started taking a turn for the better. The two sides ave begun talking to each other to resolve their differences peacefully. The recent contacts between the two countries at the prime minister's level, have created hope among their friends that Turkey and Greece would end their differences and arrive at some settlement to end the long standing dispute over Cyprus. It is these hopes which have opened up the doors for establishing closer economic relations for the Greeks with not only Pakistan but also with other Muslim countries which have centuries old relations with Turkey. Pakistan sincerely welcomes the efforts which Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey and his Greek counterpart Andreas Papandrea have initiated in this regard.

As far as Pakistan-Greek trade is concerned it remained far from satisfactory during the last decade or so. In 1971-72, Pakistan's exports to Greece amounted to Rs.12 million as against imports of Rs.2 million. By 1984-85 some improvement was visible when our exports increased to Rs.93 million and imports to Rs.192 million. It was in 1985-86 that Pakistan exports and imports acquired some semblance of reasonableness when these amounted to Rs.285 million and Rs.121 million respectively. But in the next year again declined and our exports came down to Rs.255 million and imports to Rs.64.7 million. As pointed out earlier, his irregularity in the flow of two-way trade was the result of coldness that existed in our relations in the political sphere. This situation was accentuated by lack of contact between the business communities of the two countries. Seldom did they make any serious attempt to explore and study each other's markets.

The ice has now been broken. The Greek trade delegation has come for talks to Pakistan. Apart from meeting the officials, the delegation also had meetings with the businessmen in Pakistan. In its talks with the members of Karachi Chamber of commerce and industry, the leader of Greek delegation, D. Karahalois has expressed the hope that their visit would be successful with best results of cooperation. Apart from expanding trade, he pointed out, "we are here to encourage Greek entrepreneurs to come to Pakistan and establish relationship with their Pakistani counterparts and have joint ventures in order to further develop the deep relations between the two."

The president of the Karachi Chamber, Qaisar Ahmed Sheikh, while reciprocating the sentiments, has identified a number of spheres in which the two countries can cooperate with each other. He also emphasised the need for frequent exchanges of trade delegations and commercial literature. These efforts, we hope, would bear fruit and help in establishing mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

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**Underutilization of Science Potential Assailed**  
46000106a Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in  
English 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The message of Dr I.H. Usmani's recent talk to a group of Karachi journalists, namely, that socio-economic development is absolutely impossible without the promotion of science and technology, comes at a very appropriate time, a time when our planners and those who hold the reins of the country's destiny, are busy giving finishing touches to the Seventh 5-Year Plan. As it is, the 5-years plans and other economic documents of vital national importance are crammed with all the figure work, all the economic jargon one could muster. There is no denying the fact that without science and technology, we are doomed. As such, it follows that tangible physical targets should get precedence over figure work and economic jargon.

It is rather sad to note that, as the state of affairs is today, Pakistan does not lead in this field even among the Islamic countries, the first three positions being held by Egypt, Turkey, and Malaysia. This just need not be so. Pakistan has a tremendous store of talented manpower. We have ample resources which have not been exploited, and if at all, in a very haphazard, non-productive manner.

In the field of science and technology, energy is a sector that is of crucial importance to Pakistan. Here too, despite the tremendous store of trained manpower, endowed with all the ingenuity, we have lagged behind. For instance, we are blessed with a hydro-electric power potential to the quantum of 20,000 MW, ad Dr Usmani, a distinguished Pakistani Scientist and former chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, disclosed. Consequently, whether or not we may be aware of it, we are confronted with a looming energy crisis which if not tackled, could assume alarming dimensions for our future generations.

Subsequently, we have to harness all the resources of our command to brace for future contingencies. Be it nuclear power, or the solar energy power potential, no effort should be spared to tap any worthwhile resource.

In this context, a special reference to solar energy would be in the fitness of things. As it is, the sun rises every day and shines with all the scorching fury for well over 6 hours all over the country. Why must not we come up with methods, considering the mighty store of ingenuity of our trained personnel, to harness solar energy, to the benefit of the masses. As the distinguished scientist disclosed, just 10 percent of an area of Sind can generate more energy than the whole national grid is currently producing. In this regard, we hope that the proposal of a solar dam at Mastung would get favourable response from our planners. What is needed by our planners is a scientific bent of mind. At present we are just generating

5,000 MW through our national grid, which is absolutely inadequate for the national needs. As for nuclear energy, one can only hope that through deft handling of our policies, we could neutralise pressures from all quarters and exploit our nuclear energy potential, something for which we already have a viably laid out infrastructure.

However, our underutilisation of potential is confined not only to the field of energy but others too. For example despite the Indus Valley being so very fertile, our per-acre yield is about the lowest in the world, and come to think of it, we have to import 400 million dollars worth of edible oils annually. Within an expansive land mass as ours and the fertile Indus Valley, there is absolutely no justification for such a dismal state of affairs. Why should we not allocate more to technological research and rid ourselves of dependence on others.

The net result of this disheartening state of affairs is that according to World Bank rating, Pakistan is placed among the 35 poorest countries, and all our development programme is foreign aid-oriented. Underutilisation of our resource and manpower potential points to only one thing: step-motherly treatment to the activity of scientific research and technology.

It would, therefore, be absolutely in the fitness of things for our planners to give urgent consideration to Dr Usmani's proposal of creating a national endowment for the promotion of science and technology.

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#### **Official Secrecy Said Due to Government 'Fear of Truth'**

46000107a Lahore *VIEWPOINT in English*  
18 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] While in many parts of today's world the winds heralding freedom of information for citizens gather strength, in Pakistan the bureaucratic fossils who guard official archives and files with insane jealousy keep all doors barred, as if determined to keep hidden the skeletons in their own cupboards or those of their foreign mentors.

The explanation for this situation is that democracy in Pakistan has always been under attack, both from within and without. Even before its dismantlement got underway seriously in 1954, leading to its total demolition in 1958, Pakistan's rulers remained so busy trying to perpetuate their rule that they had little time for problems of concern to the people. Hence, the tribe of bureaucrats left us as Britain's worst legacy assumed powers to take decisions and make rules which were endorsed with extraordinary docility by our ill-equipped politicians. Among these was the diktat that official papers, the process of policy-making, and the reasons for official

decisions, should all be kept secret. It is extraordinary but true that even reports and record relating to the British period are still protected under the Official Secrets Act.

#### **Fear of Truth**

What can only be seen as a pathological fear of the truth extends to a wide variety of fields. For example, data collected by government or quasi-government departments are seldom revealed to the public. And when this is done, many suspect that, like the average income tax evader, some government departments keep two sets of account books—one for possible public scrutiny and the second, approximately more closely to reality, for the narrow exoteric circle of decision-makers.

One glaring example of excessive zeal for secrecy is provided by the finance minister's refusal to divulge to the National Assembly the names of the big debtors who had borrowed funds (perhaps on ministerial recommendations) from the nationalised banks, and have been unable or unwilling to pay them back. Presumably many such loans were not fully secured: and anyhow most were ultimately written off as bad debts. When questions were asked, specially about a large loan of Rs.80 million sweetened with a ridiculously low rate of interest, no answers were given. The plea made was that the rules laid down by the Banking Council do not permit mention of debtors' names. That the principle of confidentiality should be used to cover what smells of corruption is unacceptable. Yet, no one seems to have suggested seriously that the relevant laws and rules should be amended.

#### **Other Scandals**

A worse scandal, although on a much smaller scale, was exposed in the Punjab Assembly when a series of questions asked by MPA's were denied answers because this would amount to revealing what were called "policy matters." The questions related to irregular appointments made in the Provincial Communications and Works Department or telephone as gas bills unpaid by MNAs, MPAs and military officers (which have for some reason been written off). There was mention of large local purchases (amounting to Rs. 7,03,096) by a former military secretary to the governor, which again had to be written off. Sums of Rs.52,65 million were reportedly outstanding against some 80 contractors, who had not been penalised but were able to obtain new contracts. And so on and so forth. The misuse of public funds continues, and a cloak of secrecy shields the culprits and their collaborators.

Since Pakistan's rulers profess adherence to codes of conduct devised by their Western friends, it is relevant to point out that the U.S. Freedom of Information Act gives all citizens the right to examine officials documents and obtain access even to secret files, in order to protect their fundamental rights and save themselves from

improper or illegal prosecution. In Great Britain, traditionally, all official files are made available for public scrutiny after a period of 30 years. In these countries only the most sensitive state secrets continue to be protected from the public eye, but public clamour and court actions contest any such decision that is not considered justifiable in the national interest.

Pakistan lags far behind in this matter. As the Federal Ombudsman has suggested, a Pakistan Freedom of Information Act should be approved and adopted with appropriate speed. In any case, government must change its policy and stop pleading state privilege, so that its decisions can properly scrutinized by the people and their representatives.

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### **Hudood Laws Criticized**

46000107b Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English  
18 Feb 88 p 17

[Text] The Federal Shariat Court, by setting aside the judgement of the Additional Sessions Judge, Karachi East, convicting Shahida Perveen and her husband, Mohammad Anwar, to death by stoning, has removed for the time being a cause of wide spread concern and provided a sense of relief to the feminist groups, human rights activists and democrats at large. The court sent the case back to the Sessions Judge for retrial by a judge other than the one who had heard it originally.

Shahida Perveen and Sarwar were accused of adultery, tried under the Hudood Ordinance on the complaint of Shahida's first husband, who claimed that he had not divorced her and that she was living with the second husband in sin. Shahida produced a divorce document attested by a First Class magistrate and notarised by a Public Notary, but the learned judge decided the case on the ground that procedural formalities under the Family Laws Ordinance had not been completed and, therefore, the divorce had not become effective. Consequently he awarded the couple punishment under the Hudood Ordinance.

The cause and the nature of punishment have again shown up once again the blatant harshness of the Hudood Ordinance. The case aroused a controversy when certain groups put in an advertisement in national dailies appealing to the people to participate in the campaign for the repeal of the Ordinance. Sixty ulema took exception to the advertisement, calling it disrespect to the 'shariat.' The biggest national daily took an unusual step by publishing an apology and took up the plea that the advertisement was published "without authorisation by the management."

"The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, WAF, the National Thinkers Forum, the Karachi Study Circle, Research Forum, Tehrik-e-Niswan, QMZ, NPP, PNP, Sind Branch of PPP, the Karachi Bar Association, the

United Workers Front, Joint Labour Federation and many other workers' unions endorsed the campaign for the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances as well as the advertisement appearing in the press. These organisations said: the Ordinance is unjust. The ambiguities coupled with the manner in which they have been used have been detrimental to both men and women in Pakistan.

Ms Bhutto has also added her voice to the demand for the repeal of the Ordinance. She said in a statement:

The most cruel aspect of the Ordinance is revealed by another case. Jahan Mina, a girl of 13, was raped by persons unknown to her, and got pregnant. She was tried and convicted of adultery. She is serving a sentence of 3 years' rigorous imprisonment and awaiting a further sentence of 100 lashes which will be executed when her child becomes 2 years old. The rapist went scot free on account of lack of evidence.

According to women activists, there are 180 women in Multan jail convicted on similar charges and 94 others are awaiting trial in various other jails. In rape cases where there is no 'shari' evidence against men, nature often bears witness against women. Thus, the whole thing becomes cruel as the victim is punished and the guilty goes scot-free.

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### **Lack of Self-Reliance in Technology Criticized**

46000104c Karachi *DAWN* in English 29 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] As a valiant crusader for the cause of science and technology, Dr Abdus Salam, our only Nobel Laureate, has continued to prick our conscience by reminding us of the pitiable state of scientific education and research in the country. He returned to the theme while delivering the Faiz memorial lecture in Lahore on Saturday. What Dr Salam has been offering us is not just a lament but an honest assessment of our attitude towards science as well as realistic strategy for national salvation in which science and technology have to play a catalytic role. The crux of the matter lies in recognising, as Dr Salam has repeatedly pointed out, that the widening economic gap between the advanced countries and the Third world is basically the science gap. We require scientific research and modern technology to promote socio-economic development at an accelerated pace. It is said that while constant lip service is paid to this national goal, no meaningful commitment has been made for educational and scientific advancement. What is striking is the low priority accorded to education and research. The Sixth 5-Year Plan had promised an increase in government spending on research and development (R&D) activities from 0.17 percent to 0.45 percent of the GNP, but the actual allocation has not exceeded 0.2 percent of the GNP. By comparison, the advanced countries allocate about 2.5 percent of their GNP to this sector and the United Nations has recommended at least 1 percent on

science for Third World countries. No wonder we are pathetically short of scientists, whose number is estimated at just 5,500 while the minimum number needed is 15,000. Dr Salam has underlined three basic shortcomings in this regard. One, there is no national commitment to acquiring and enhancing scientific knowledge and not enough realisation of the fact that science holds the key to the solution of many of our basic socio-economic problems. Two, the enterprise of science is not run by young, vigorous working scientists as is the tradition elsewhere. Three, we have not realised that all technology is founded upon science. None of our governments has ever made it a national goal to acquire self-reliance in technology, not even in the defence area.

If we take a good appraising look at the lives we lead, we will notice that we are surrounded with machines but we have no technology of our own. Our love affair with imported consumer goods and durables has been sustained by the short-sighted policies of the successive governments. Almost all the technology that we have is borrowed and there is hardly any serious move to create the needed research facilities to be able to acquire the know-how and fabricate our own. Even in the domain of intermediate technology, with its limited uses, we have not made much headway. At best, we take pride in assembling machines which have been developed and produced in other countries. Our planners and policy-makers are unconcerned about the big strides made in higher education and science in neighboring countries like China and India, both of which have a lower per capita income than ours. In his speech in Lahore, Dr Salam urged Pakistan to emulate the example of China which has increased the number of scientists and laboratories by over 6500 times during the past 40 years. It is a reflection of the appalling state of science and technology in the country that many of our talented and ambitious scientist have to seek opportunities abroad. Dr Salam himself might not have achieved the world renown he has if he had remained in Pakistan. But it is a measure of his patriotic commitment to the future well-being of his motherland that he continues to plead for more serious attention to promoting science and technology in the country. He is right in pointing out that we have sufficient scientific talent. Many of our scientists now working abroad should be willing to return if a proper environment for research and necessary facilities are available here. But no serious effort has yet been made to face up this question and make a gradual break with the present policy of living on borrowed technology land, in doing so, letting the outflow of scientific talent continued unchecked. To reverse this process and to gear up progress in science and technology policy decisions are needed at the highest level. We not only need higher allocations for scientific research but also a total overhauling of our educational system. The decline of higher education in the country is only an indication of how indifferent we are becoming to the imperatives of growth and progress. The present ambivalent approach and ad-hocism in critical areas of our policy-making may lead us inexorably into a blind alley of stagnation ad we

may lose control over our own destiny. Neither of our administrator nor our leaders of opinion seem conscious of the perils of this drift. Dr Salam's admonitions have so far gone largely unheeded. It would be a pity if his exhortations were to be lost in the wilderness of our casual approach to the primacy of science and technology in the context of our future progress.

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#### **Sophisticated Arms Seized**

46000104 Karachi DAWN in English 29 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Peshawar, 28 February—Peshawar Customs staff, in a single haul last Friday seized a huge amount of highly sophisticated heavy arms from a truck at Kotal check-post on Peshawar-Kohat road and arrested the man driving the truck.

The Customs officials arranged a demonstration of the weapons at the Peshawar Collectorate, but declined to brief the pressmen about the destination of the truck and all that Mr Salim Malik, Collector of Customs, could precisely say was that its disclosure involved national interest.

Most of the weapons were China and Soviet made. The astonishing thing was that these included long-range missiles, rockets, hand grenades, anti-tank mines and a huge quantity of ammunition. The Director of Customs intelligence, Islamabad, and the Collector of Customs, Peshawar, on an information blocked, the Kohat road last Friday around 6 p.m.

The Customs staff noticed a truck numbering GLT 9502 and stopped it at Kotal check-post. The truck apparently was loaded with bricks and was driven by a lone driver, Mohammad Haroon hailing from Darra Adam Khel. On search, boxes and bagsful of arms and ammunition were recovered.

The arms and ammunition seized by the Customs are: 107 MM recoilless 645, handgrenades 291, anti-tank rockets of different sizes 651, Cartridges of 7.62 bore 33,000 Russian shoulder-operated missile launchers 2, booster/charger indifferent sizes, 739, fuse for 107 mm 63, fuse of miscellaneous size, 49, magazine LMG 25, magazine SMG 25, handgrenade firing rings 40, grenade firing mechanism 21 detonator PKT comprising 1001, and other devices 29.

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#### **Government Said Perpetuating Inequality**

46000104 Karachi DAWN in English  
28 Feb 88 (supplement) p I

[Article by M. Ziauddin in Islamabad]

[Text] In the last 10 years when the Fifth and Sixth 5-Year Plans were in operation the rich became richer and the poor, poorer. The two plans benefited the rural rich more than the urban rich while the poorest of the rural and urban sectors suffered equally.

According to a study on income distribution prepared by the Planning Commission prior to the drafting of the Seventh Plan proposals, the share of income of the poorest 20 percent of the population had declined from 7.4 percent in 1979 to 6.1 percent in 1984-85 while the share of the richest 20 percent had increased from 45.4 percent to 49.8 percent during the same period.

Similarly, the share of the poorest 40 percent of the population declined from 19.1 percent in 1979 to 16.6 percent in 1984-85 while the share of the richest 10 percent and 5 percent of the population increased from 31.7 percent and 22.3 percent respectively 35.7 percent and 24.9 percent respectively during the same period.

#### Rural Rich

Interestingly, while the share of the rural rich in the income increased from 40.8 percent in 1979 to 42.2 percent in 1984-85, the share of the urban rich decreased from 48.1 percent to 45.3 percent during the period.

On the other hand, while the share of the rural poor decreased from 8.5 percent to 7.8 percent, the share of urban poor increased from 6.8 percent to 7.6 percent during the period.

However, according to the study there are indications that the gap between the poor of the rural and urban sectors is narrowing (from 38 percent in 1979 to 36 percent in 1984-85) and secondly this gap is smaller at the lower income levels (3 percent for below Rs.600 income group).

Analysing this situation the study said that the narrowing of the rural urban poverty gap in average incomes coupled with the increase in rural income inequalities pointed to the fact that during the period 1979 to 1985 relatively greater economic benefits, accrued to the rural areas "but these were largely appropriated by the rural rich."

"The rural rich have become richer" and the 1984-85 poverty indicators showed that still, a much larger proportion of rural population (45 percent) cannot meet the basic needs/requirements compared to their urban counterparts (25 percent).

Discussing the rich-poor disparities in greater depth, the study said that consumer prices have also been slightly more favourable to the higher income groups as "the consumer price indices with 1980-81 as base are lower for higher income groups for the years 1981-82 to 1985-86. This relative worsening of the purchasing power of the lower income groups is a source of further distortion of income distribution in real terms."

#### Poverty Line

According to the study, during 1969-70 to 1984-85 the percentage of households below poverty line (Rs.700 per household in 1979 prices) decreased from 65 percent in 1969-70 to 40 percent in 1984-85 and the average income of the remaining poor also increased by 20 percent.

But this phenomenon has been very rightly attributed by the study to "the extraordinarily large remittances from the workers abroad and higher domestic wage levels due to large scale emigration."

Since in recent years, the quantum of remittances has started declining substantially the net emigration has also started showing a negative trend, it is likely that in the absence of any suitable measures, the percentage of population below the poverty line will revert to 1969-70 figure on 65 percent or even more, according to independent economists.

The study further said that while the incomes of the lower income groups increased in real terms, the incomes of the higher income groups increased at a higher rate and "The average income of the lowest 40 percent incomes bracket of the population increased by 6 percent in real terms, in 1984-85 over 1979 while the average income of the top 5 percent registered a much greater increase (of nearly 10 percent). Benefits of development thus went to the richer classes in greater measures."

The study says that "although social justice has always been one of Pakistan's consideration in planning, the distributive objectives have generally been subservient to the growth objectives" and "government's reliance mainly on indirect measures such as employment generation and provision of health and education facilities, its distributive policies have not yielded desired results."

Discussing the reasons for the failure of the distributive policies the study says that "policies and projects which are economically viable are not adopted if these are not met with political approval because of the self-interest of those in power." And "reverse is also true economically unsound policies and projects are approved for the same reason."

Further it says that "intended transfers of resources do not reach the target group because there are large-scale leakages by way of corruption" and "illegitimate financial gains, corruption on the part of the executing agents and misplaced delivery to the favoured rather than to the deserving inhibit the success of any policy."

"In the rural areas, the landlord still wields great power. Roads are mostly built up to their lands. They arrange first to get electric connections. They have the financial

means to acquire better seed, fertiliser and tractors. They have the power to syphon away credit facilities of the small farmers and take advantage of the extension programmes."

"In urban areas" the study notes "industrial tycoons can manoeuvre an industrial policy in their favour. Tax invasion is rampant."

According to the study of present social structure, with slack moral and ethical standards, has degenerated into a watertight compartmentalised set-up in which a small group wields almost autocratic power."

### Perpetuating Inequality

"They have access to good education, best jobs and all material benefits. Such opportunities of education and employment are not available to those at the lower rung of social order. This social immobility has been instrumental in perpetuating income inequality on the one hand and creating a sense of deprivation on the other."

In the opinion of the authors of the study, income and wealth amassed covertly through illegal means such as tax evasion, corruption and smuggling of arms and drugs has further distorted income distribution" as "the rich classes are the main beneficiaries of such incomes.

Ironically, the authors of the Seventh Plan draft who had access to this study have not suggested any concrete strategy for eliminating these hurdles in the way of a meaningful implementation of distributive policies. Instead they have settled for promises made in the previous two plans, albeit in a different language and style.

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### Students Protest Against Kalabagh Dam

46000105a Karachi DAWN in English 29 Feb 88 p 6

[Text] Hyderabad, 28 February: the Sind People's Students Federation (SPSF) took out a procession and held a demonstration to protest against the construction of Kalabagh Dam and Panmu Aqil Cantonment here on Sunday.

The procession started from the main gate of Civil Hospital and after marching through Tilik-Incline Station Road, Gari Khata and Kazi Abdul Qayoom Road and terminated at Haider Chowk where it turned into a public meeting.

The procession was led by the Central President SPSF Mr Sattar Rajpar and Secretary-General PPP (city), Mr Maula Bux Chandio. A large number of women workers and the leaders of Democratic Students Federation (DSF), Awami National Party (ANP) and Watan Dost also participated.

The processionists raised slogans of Jeay Bhutto and against the Kalabagh Dam and Panmu Aqil Cantonment.

The speakers lashed out against the construction of Dam and Cantonment which they said was against the interests of Sind. Mr Sattar Rajpar, who presided over the meeting announced that the SPSF will continue its struggle till all the problems confronting the province were resolved.

He called upon the other student organizations to join the crusade in the larger interest of Sind. He said that SPSF was responsible for the downfall of Ayub Khan, and it will not rest at peace till Gen Zia was "dethroned."

He announced that a convention of students will be held at Karachi on 4 March against the military dictatorship.

The Central President DSF, Mr Imdad Chandio, speaking on the occasion said, that the meeting was not just a "formal" protest against Kalabagh Dam and Panmu Aqil Cantonment, but it was the beginning of a movement for the rights of the oppressed people of Sind. He said "we want Sindhi Raj for Sind."

The ANP city chief exhorted the Sindhis to unite for the common cause. The PPP city President, Mr Maula Bux Chandio said that Kalabagh Dam and Panmu Aqil Cantonment were matters of "life and death for Sindhis." He said PPP was a national party, but this did not mean that we should sacrifice Sind at the altar of Federation.

The others, who spoke on the occasion included Hussain Shah Bukhari, Rehmatullah Heesbani and Miss Nuzhat Pathan.

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### SRI LANKI

### Minister on Amnesty International Charges

46000111a Colombo DAILY NEWS in English  
25 Feb 88 p 1, 10

[Article: "Why Complain to Amnesty? asks Lalith"]

[Text] The Colombo government yesterday reiterated its willingness to investigate any complaints of human rights abuses. It was reacting to an Amnesty report issued yesterday where Sri Lanka was accused of being one of four countries guilty of routinely torturing and executing political prisoners, often without trial.

The other countries named by an Amnesty official speaking before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva were Libya and Syria.

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali reacted to the report saying: "Why do these people complain to Amnesty?: If they complain to us, we will investigate such complaints."

He said that there was a legal method of seeking redress and the Ananda Sunil habeas corpus case was an example of how that method may be used.

Amnesty alleged that between 1983 and mid-1987, 650 people have disappeared in Sri Lanka and the government has failed to conduct decisive inquiries into such disappearances.

"Some former detainees, released under terms of the July Indo-Sri Lanka accord, have sworn they saw some of those disappeared being tortured, and in a few cases had to assist in burning some of the bodies....", the spokesman had said.

Mr. Athulathmudali said that the statements to Amnesty have certainly not been made by disinterested witnesses. The charges were based on *ex parte* (one sided) affidavits.

He also made the point that Amnesty had been repeating the same allegations over a period of time.

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**Spokesman Talks About Mahaweli Hydropower**  
46000111b Colombo DAILY NEWS in English  
3 Mar 88 p 3

[Article: "Mahaweli Hydropower Saves Over Rs.3250m in Foreign Exchange"]

[Text] The various systems of the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme now serve a new population of over 300,000 people.

Earlier there were hardly any human habitation in these areas. Approximately 56,000 families have been settled in the newly developed areas with modern roads, new

towns, schools, hospitals, police stations, post offices, markets and social infrastructure to serve the new population up to the end of September last year.

The Mahaweli Development Ministry announced that the electricity supply in the country had been benefited by a hundred per cent increase over what was available before the Accelerated Mahaweli Program.

A ministry spokesman explained that an additional 469 megawatts of installed hydropower capacity to the island's grid of electricity has already generated 2,300 kilowatt hours of energy, resulting in a saving of valuable foreign exchange to the equivalent of nearly Rs.3,250 million.

This is the cost of imported fuel for the generation of thermal back-up energy up to the middle of last year. A post-construction evaluation of the Victoria Project shows that investment costs on it can be recovered in just a few years from power benefits alone.

The average paddy yield in the project area has now exceeded 5 tons per hectare and a saving of Rs.672 million in valuable foreign exchange has been affected in the national budget by the reduction in the import of rice alone in 1986.

The landless farmer who has been settled in the Mahaweli project areas now derives an annual gross income of about Rs.20,000 from agriculture and allied pursuits.

Many new facts of development have been introduced to increase the per capita income of the farmer, by providing off-farm employment opportunities by new management techniques accelerating technological changes in the agricultural development patterns.

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